THE SEA
ITS HISTORY & ROMANCE
II.

A View of the Landing the New England Forces in ye Expedition against CAPE BRETON, 1745.
When after an Siege of 30 days the Town and Fortresses of LOUISBOURG and the important Territories thereto belonging were restored to the British Empire.
The brave & Active Commodore Warren, since made Knight of the Bath & Vice Admiral of ye White commanded the British Squadron in this glorious Expedition. The Hon.ble Will.m Pepperell Esq.r
Since Knighted Lieut.t a Volantier & Commanded the New Englands Men who bravely offer'd their Service and went as private Soldiers in this hazardous but very glorious Enterprize.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE LANDING OF NEW ENGLAND FORCES IN THE EXPEDITION AGAINST CAPE BRETON, 1745.
(FROM AN ENGRAVING BY J. BROOKS AFTER A PAINTING BY J. STEVENS—PROBABLY CONTEMPORARY)

THE SEA

ITS
HISTORY AND ROMANCE

By

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Author of "The Golden Age of Sail," "Ships for All," Etc.; Editor of "Merchant Ships of the World"

VOL. II.

ROBERT M. McBRIDE AND COMPANY
NEW YORK 1927

Printed in Great Britain by
Herbert Reiach, Ltd.,
Eyot Works, Eyot Gardens, London, W.6

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THE SEA
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CHAPTER I—THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

The Outbreak of War.

When the Treaty of Ryswick was completed in 1697 it would certainly appear that Britain and her Allies had attained all that they desired against French aggression, but within a very few years the trouble was again in evidence. The King of Spain died in 1700 and left the Empire by will to Duke Philip of Anjou, who was grandson of King Louis XIV. This would mean that France practically obtained what she had desired for so long, the Rhine Delta and especially Antwerp. It seemed as though the whole war had been wasted, and had the King of France played his cards carefully it certainly would have been so. He was a man who would never be taught prudence, however, and before long he had committed the breach of the Treaty which was all that the Allies desired as an excuse to attack him. It was a bitter blow to King William, already disheartened by the death of Queen Mary, but war was not actually proclaimed until after his decease in 1702. Before he died he had perfected a plan which would have practically confined the sea struggle to American waters, but circumstances ruled otherwise and the Mediterranean became the principal centre of operations. This introduced entirely new considerations, for it was impossible to wage a war of this sort without some base and there was little enough neutral territory that was capable of acting as our ally, supplying our ships with a resting place. For the purpose of establishing a base a joint expedition under Admiral Rooke and General the Duke of Ormonde set out to capture Cadiz, although this was not the base that the Navy would have chosen and moreover was in a part of the country that was warmly in favour of the French candidate. The result was disastrous, for although the ships obtained certain advantages the attackers never contrived to lodge themselves effectively, and the constant quarrels of the Admiral and General prevented co-operation. Finally the force withdrew discomfited and with a great loss of prestige.

Vigo Bay, 1702.

It was while this very crestfallen force was sailing for home that by pure chance a great success fell to British arms which made the public

forget the fiasco of Cadiz. Some of the ships went into Lagos to water and while there Chaplain Beauvoir of the *Pembroke* met the French Consul, who was rash enough to boast of their forces and in doing so divulged the secret that there was a valuable Spanish treasure fleet in Vigo Bay protected by a few French ships. The fleet was collected and arrived at Vigo on October 11th, 1702, to find that the French Admiral Chateau Renault had made what preparations he could to defend his convoy. The Anglo-Dutch fleet was considerably the superior, but the enemy had great natural advantages and some protection from the land forts. However, the result was that the twenty-four men-of-war were all either taken or burnt and the seventeen galleons of the treasure squadron were destroyed. The treasure that fell to the victors was of a colossal value, but it is believed in many places that still more went down with the Spanish ships and, as Rooke sailed straight away, that it is still lying at the bottom of Vigo Bay. Numerous treasure hunting expeditions have been sent out to search for this, and some silver ingots have been brought to the surface, but the Spanish records seem to suggest that most of the treasure that was not captured by the Allies had been sent overland before their arrival and it is very much to be feared that the silver recovered had been placed ready to be found. At the time the English were very well satisfied with what they gained.

Benbow in the West Indies.

Meanwhile Vice-Admiral John Benbow, as gallant and irascible a seaman as had ever served under the British flag, was sent to the West Indies with a squadron in conformity with William III's original idea of cutting up Spanish commerce. It consisted of ten sail in all and was greatly overshadowed by the French and Spanish forces already in the West Indies, so that it was Benbow's first job to reassure the British colonists there. He made excellent use of his force and contrived to meet the French Admiral Ducasse with a superior fleet off Santa Maria in August, 1702. Unfortunately some of Benbow's captains behaved shamefully, with the result that it was only two or three ships that met the brunt of the enemy's attack, although some of the others were within pistol range, and got badly mauled for their pains. Benbow hung on in spite of this until, after four days' fighting of sorts, his leg was crushed by a chain shot and he continued to direct the fight from a cot on his quarter-deck. He pursued the enemy, who had had quite as much as he wanted, until forced to give up the action when it had become perfectly obvious that his captains did not intend to fight. It was a disgraceful incident and the sentence of death that was passed on the two worst offenders was richly deserved, a third being cashiered and a fourth dying before he could be brought to trial. Benbow, his heart broken by the behaviour of his command, never recovered from the amputation of his wounded leg and died in Jamaica three months after the action. The opinion of the French Admiral about the affair is given in a letter he is said to have written to Benbow: "Sir—I had little hope on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabin but it pleased God to

order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for by God they deserve it."

After the death of Benbow Vice-Admiral Sir John Graydon was sent out to take his place with considerable reinforcements, but he missed every conceivable opportunity of damaging the enemy. After a short spell he returned ingloriously to England, where he was very properly disgraced and deprived of his pension.

The Capture of Gibraltar, 1704.

Rooke and Ormonde had failed to secure Cadiz as a base, and although Lisbon was obtained through an alliance with Portugal this was too far away from Toulon to permit the British force there to cover the French fleet. In 1703, owing to the absence of a suitable base, the British fleet was forced to return to the Downs where it was struck by the famous storm so vividly described by Defoe, many of the best ships going down with terrible loss of life. There is no doubt that this disaster had a good result in the long run, for it caused Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had by then joined him, to determine on the seizure of Gibraltar as a more appropriate base for the fleet. This was in 1704 and on the way round Rooke let slip a wonderful opportunity of destroying the French fleet, which in ordinary circumstances would have caused him to be court-martialled. He always had extraordinary luck, for while the capture of the treasure in Vigo Bay caused the Cadiz fiasco to be forgotten, so this blunder passed unnoticed in the triumph of Gibraltar. Rooke had under his command a powerful Dutch force ; the fleet bombarded while a force of English and Dutch marines under the Prince of Hesse landed on the neck between the Rock and the mainland of Spain to cut communications. After a heavy bombardment an attack was made with the boats of the fleet and in spite of casualties by a heavy land mine, which really did as much damage to the enemy as to the landing party, the fortress fell surprisingly easily considering its extraordinary strength. Captured as a result of a disaster, Gibraltar remained with the English because the French ultimately succeeded in getting their claimant on the throne of Spain ; had we won the war we would have ceded it to the Spaniards.

The Battle of Velez Malaga.

No sooner was Gibraltar taken than the French and Spanish fleets appeared in practically the same force as Rooke's. Their ships, however, were fresh, while ours were exhausted by the capture of the fortress and were left short-handed by the garrison that had been provided. The Battle of Velez Malaga on August 17th, 1704, which followed was an interesting one, although until recently it has been regarded as somewhat unsatisfactory. Had it not been that our ships' ammunition supply was so depleted it would have been a noteworthy victory, but as it was the enemy got away at the end of a fiercely contested fight. As a result of political intrigue the battle was described as a failure at the time, so that Rooke was relieved of his command and was not employed again.

The First Siege of Gibraltar.

The Franco-Spanish party soon made an attempt to recapture the Rock, being assisted by a French squadron under De Pointis, who had fought at Beachy Head and Velez Malaga. The British fleet was under Sir John Leake and he was able to keep the French off until the garrison had been reinforced and better able to hold its own against the Spanish force which was attacking from the land side. He then met De Pointis on favourable terms and defeated him near Cape Spartel in March, 1705, in consequence of which the siege was raised. After that the British forces were able to capture several points on the Spanish coast and also Majorca, but a siege of Toulon was unsuccessful owing to the French having scuttled some twenty men-of-war in the mouth of the port.

The Death of Cloudesley Shovel.

At the end of 1707 the Navy was to lose one of its best Admirals in the person of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. He was bringing his main fleet back from Gibraltar, twelve line-of-battleships and numerous small craft, with his flag flying in the *Association*. Navigation in those days was very much a matter of chance, and thick weather coming on when he was approaching the Scillies he led his fleet straight on to the Bishop's and Clerk's Rocks. He was under the impression that he was off Ushant and had called a council of the navigators of the fleet just previously, when one officer reckoned the correct position but everyone else made it several hundreds of miles out. At the time there was a current story that a seaman in the flagship had kept his own reckoning which gave the correct position and that when he showed this to the officers just before the disaster he was promptly and severely punished for mutiny. The Admiral himself was a strong swimmer and was apparently within reach of safety when a woman, bearing in mind the legal difference between taking goods off a live man and a corpse, dispatched him with a rock. Beside the *Association*, three other ships and nearly two thousand men were lost, while two others were wrecked but later came off.

Minorca.

In the Mediterranean Majorca and Ivica had already been secured, but Minorca with the magnificent harbour of Port Mahon was of far greater importance. Sir John Leake, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean, determined to take the island and on the way he saved the town of Barcelona within hours of the time arranged for its surrender. He then embarked some Carlist Spanish troops, landed them on the island, and returned to England with the main force ; the credit for the capture goes principally to Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Whitaker. By this time the fleet had its hands very full in protecting convoys and trade, for the French were very largely concentrating their attention on the destruction of commerce, and most of the squadrons that were sent out were destined for this purpose. As far as major actions were concerned the capture of

ANGLO-DUTCH VICTORY AT VIGO, OCTOBER 12, 1702

Rooke was the luckiest of Admirals, and every time he made a mistake in one direction it seemd that Fate recompensed him in another. The attack on Cadiz having proved a lamentable failure, he destroyed the Spanish Treasure Fleet on the way home and, of course, was forgiven.

(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

La Fortezza Gibiltarra, Assediata dalla Flotta Confederata dell Ammiraglio Rooke.
l'Anno 1704. l'ultimo Luglio, sotto l'Comando dell Colonello Gollowai, Inglese, accordatosi e ren-
dasi li 5. Agosto con honorabili patti, esclusi però li Francesi. Defendeva l'Comando di
questa Fortezza al Principe d'Hassia Darmestatt e presidiata con 3000. Soldati, furono
grand Danno alli Nemici. L'Anno seguente 1705. volsero ricupperare essa Fortezza
li Francesi, sotto'l Comando del Marchese Villadarias, e Mariscallo de Thesse, ma dap-
po valorosa defesa p 6. mesi, erano astretti di levare l'Assedio, per Mare e per Terra
con notabile loro danno.
Paulus Decker invent: et delin: Cum Grat. et Privilegio S.C. Maj. Ferdinandi VI. Aug: excudit Aug: Vind:
Johann Augustus Corvinus Sculpsit

(Macpherson Collection)

CAPTURE OF GIBRALTAR BY SIR GEORGE ROOKE, 1704
(Engraving by J. A. Corvinus after P. Deckar)

Gibraltar was taken by an Anglo-Dutch force after operations lasting four days, and was held in the name of Charles III. Had he been successful in the War of the Spanish Succession the fortress would have been returned to Spain, but it was ceded to Britain as one of the prices of peace.

The Right Honble Sr George Rooke Vice Admiral
of England &c. Admiral and Commander in Cheife of Her Majesties Fleet &c And one
of Her Majesties most Honourable Prive Council.

Macpherson Collection)

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE
(Mezzotint Engraving by J. A. Corvinus after Painting by M. Dahl, 1704)

Rooke was popular in the fleet and of unimpeachable integrity. The very small fortune that he left was with the note: "I do not leave much, but what I leave was honestly gotten. It never cost the sailor a tear or the nation a farthing."

THE BATTLE OF MALAGA, 1704
(Line Engraving by I. Sailmaker)

An undecisive but bloody action fought between the Anglo-Dutch Squadron under Rooke and the French under the Count of Toulouse; such advantage as there was lay with the British.
(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

(Macpherson Collection)

PORTSMOUTH ABOUT 1700

(Engraving by Hulsbergh after Lightbody)

At the end of the Stuart period Portsmouth was regaining the position as the premier naval port which it had to some extent lost in favour of Chatham.

THE CAPTURE OF BARCELONA, 1705

Shovel and Leake in charge of the Fleet, and the Earl of Peterborough in charge of the Army, succeeded in capturing the town from the French and made a material difference to the progress of the war.

(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

THE WRECK OF THE "ASSOCIATION" AND OTHERS ON THE SCILLIES, OCTOBER, 1707

Owing to the poor navigation of the time Sir Cloudesley Shovel led his fleet on to the Scillies, and he himself was drowned with many others. They had reckoned that they were off Ushant.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE BURNING OF THE "DEVONSHIRE," SEPTEMBER, 1707

After maintaining a gallant running fight for the greater part of the day with five Frenchmen, the 80*-gun ship* Devonshire *caught fire and blew up, only two of her crew of five hundred being saved.*

Minorca was the last of the war, which dragged on until 1713, but there were very numerous minor actions which deserve mention.

The French Corsairs.

The career of Jean Bart has already been mentioned, but although he died at the very beginning of the war of the Spanish Succession he left worthy successors who harried our commerce unmercifully. The first was the Chevalier de Saint Pol, who set out from Dunkirk in 1703 but cruised principally against the Dutch. Soon after he commenced his cruise he met a British squadron of two big ships and a heavily armed merchantman, and although his own force was inferior he attacked gallantly. The merchantman fell first, a frigate unfortunately made off to save herself, and H.M.S. *Salisbury* of 52 guns had to bear the whole attack, being forced to surrender after a two hours' fight. Saint Pol added her to his corsair squadron. Even more famous was Duguay Trouin. He was born in 1673 at St. Malo and was originally intended for the church, but he found the sea very much more atttractive and fought with distinction in the war of the English Succession. He was only eighteen when he was given command of a 14-gun privateer with which he attacked shipping on the Irish coast. At twenty-one his command was a 40-gun ship, but he was captured and imprisoned at Plymouth, when he managed to make a spectacular escape. He received a regular naval commission shortly before the Peace of Ryswick and immediately the war of the Spanish Succession broke out he was active. In 1704 and 1705 he attacked the English coast at a score of points and three years later he captured a big English convoy on his way to Portugal. In 1711 he went across to Brazil and took Rio de Janeiro, from which he exacted a heavy ransom. All this time he preyed on British commerce at every opportunity and contrived to inflict very heavy losses. Some of his operations were carried out on his own and others in conjunction with Claud de Forbin, an experienced seaman who had fought all over the world and had been with Jean Bart. Working a squadron out of Dunkirk he did a lot of harm to our commerce, but his commission in 1708 to convey the Pretender to Scotland was foiled through the activity of Admiral George Byng.

Another noteworthy corsair at this period was Cassard who hailed from Nantes and who captured not only a number of merchantmen but also some British men-of-war of considerable power. It must be remembered that these corsairs were not as a rule sailing in ill-equipped privateers but had an arrangement with the French Government by which they took over powerful men-of-war, while some of them had regular naval commissions and were in most respects naval officers.

Operations in Canada.

Britain began to be really interested in North American matters about 1710, when it was determined to fit out an expedition against the French base at Port Royal, now Annapolis, on the Bay of Fundy. Six ships under Commodore George Martin were sent out and with troops from the American colonies and the reinforcement of local small craft

the attack was made and succeeded admirably. Meanwhile another squadron was operating off the Newfoundland coast, burning all the French settlements within reach and a large number of their small men-of-war and fishing vessels. Encouraged by these successes a big expedition was fitted out under Rear-Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker to attack Quebec, consisting of a number of frigates and ships of the line and a considerable transport force. It arrived in the St. Lawrence on the 21st of August, 1711, but met with thick weather. The pilots were absolutely incompetent and the currents of the river were quite unknown to the fleet, so that in less than two days eight transports were wrecked with a loss of nearly nine hundred lives. The pilots were unwilling to go right up the river, while the commanders were already very doubtful about the possible success of the expedition, and in addition provisions were beginning to run very short. When the fleet got back to British waters the final disaster was the blowing up of the flagship *Edgar* (70 guns) with very heavy loss of life. Admiral Walker was employed soon after the return of the fleet, but when George I came to the throne the question was opened again and although he had practically no chance of defending himself on account of his papers having been lost in the destruction of his flagship he was placed on half pay.

The End of the War, 1713.

The war ended with the Peace of Utrecht on the 31st of March, 1713, by which we were protected from French interference with the English Succession, the throne of Spain went to the French claimants but with a proviso that the Crowns of France and Spain should be permanently separate; England received Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the territory round Hudson Bay, Gibraltar and Minorca, and secured the dismantling of the fortress of Dunkirk, which was a very great point. Altogether, although the British failed in their principal object in the war, they succeeded in the main. After the Peace of Utrecht there was a long period of peace during which the Navy was allowed to decline and evils sprang up which were to prove very costly during the next sixty years.

(Macpherson Collection)

DUGUAY TROUIN'S ATTACK ON RIO DE JANEIRO, 1711.

(From a Coloured Lithograph by Perrot)

CHAPTER II—STRUGGLES WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN

The Peace Party.

It was the purpose of the first George and his advisers to maintain peace at any price, but unfortunately circumstances did not permit them to carry out their intentions completely. At first there was trouble in the North, which was purely naval in character and arose through Swedish privateers in the war with Russia and Denmark seizing a number of British and Dutch ships on the allegation that they were gun-running. It is highly probable that they were, but there was great indignation and in consequence the British and Dutch dispatched a fleet to the Baltic in 1715. Admiral Sir John Norris was in command. The Swedes persisting in their attitude, the merchantmen were convoyed into the Baltic by the Dutch, while the British joined the Russo-Danish squadron at Copenhagen and made a demonstration against Sweden. The combined fleet was under the command of the Czar Peter the Great, with Norris in the van and the Danish Admiral at the rear. The Swedes retired before this force and, leaving a small fleet to protect British interests in the Baltic, Norris returned to England but had the misfortune to lose two of his ships in a gale on the way across. It is doubtful whether any move would have been made in this matter had not George I been a little doubtful of the security of certain ex-Swedish territory which, as Elector of Hanover, he had bought from the Danes. One of the results of the demonstration was to cause the Swedes, even the ambassador in London, to mix up with Jacobite plots, and as a result of this an embargo was laid on trade with Sweden and Sir George Byng sent into the Baltic to enforce it.

The First Trouble with Spain.

Meanwhile those who desired peace were encountering further difficulties in the feeling against Spain all over the country. For one thing there was the Quadruple Alliance of 1718 which was made between Great Britain, France, Holland, and the Empire, and which Spain felt was directed against herself. This caused her to strengthen her policy of prohibiting foreign ships, especially British, from trading with her colonies. Byng was sent down to the Mediterranean with a fleet and this further worried Madrid, especially as they considered that he was down there to interfere with their arrangements with the Empire regarding Sicily and Sardinia. It was a very delicate situation and was rendered worse by the fact that Byng's orders were by no means definite. Negotiations having proved fruitless he attempted to relieve Messina which was being besieged by the Spaniards. There was a greatly inferior Spanish fleet present which was obviously doubtful as to what attitude to take up, but fire being opened by one Spanish ship the British immediately attacked with vigour, the result being that the Spanish fleet was routed and the greater part of it either taken or burned. Such was the Battle of Cape Passaro, August 11th, 1718. As a consequence Spain attempted to help the Pretender by Jacobite invasions of England and Scotland, but bad weather and the British home squadrons scattered

them. In 1720 she accepted the terms of the Alliance and the war was over, a war into which England should never had entered.

The State of the Fleet.

The worst feature of the prolonged peace was the state into which the Navy was allowed to drift. Material was cut down to the lowest possible extent and the supply and maintenance services also got into a disreputable condition. The health of the ships was very poor. As an example, Vice-Admiral Francis Hosier was sent out to the West Indies in 1726 to prevent the seizure of British ships and at the same time the fear of what he might do prevented the dispatch of the usual treasure fleet to Spain. He practically blockaded Porto Bello for six months, while his men died like flies until finally it was only with the greatest difficulty that the ships were navigated to Jamaica. Here he did what little he could to restore the health of his men and then returned to duty. Hosier died at his post when a commission ordering the Government of Jamaica to knight him was actually on its way out, and such were the ideas of the times that his body was buried in the ballast of his flagship until it could be brought home. His two successors to the command also died on duty.

The Siege of Gibraltar.

Although England was technically at peace it may well be imagined that operations of this sort did not conduce to friendly relations with Spain, with the result that in 1727 the Spaniards prepared to attack Gibraltar which was very feebly held and armed. They collected fifteen thousand men but owing to the presence of a considerable British squadron the fortress was not in very great danger on this occasion and the Spaniards learned to let it alone for some considerable time afterwards.

Jenkins's Ear.

At the end of all these incidents the English people, prosperous and more than a little pugnacious, were itching for a fight with Spain, and the question of Jenkins's ear was all that they needed to set Europe ablaze. Richard Jenkins was captain of the Glasgow brig *Rebecca*, and according to his declaration he had been boarded by a Spanish man-of-war whose captain had cut off one of his ears with the remark : " Carry this home to the King your master whom, if he were present, I would serve in like fashion." He carried out instructions and told his story to Parliament, with the result that a wave of intense indignation swept over the country. More than one authority has suggested that Captain Jenkins actually lost his ear in the pillory and that the rest of his story was fabrication, but at least it served to put an end to the constant insults of Spain.

Vernon at Porto Bello, 1739.

The first stroke of the struggle, which is generally known as the War of Jenkins's Ear, occurred in 1739 when, as soon as things got really serious and it became obvious that Spain had not the least inten-

(Macpherson Collection)

THE CAPTURE OF THE " ST. JOSEPH," 1739
(From an Engraving after a Painting by Monamy)

The war with Spain offered grand opportunities for prize money, and when the Cheshire *and* Canterbury *captured the Carraccas ship* St. Joseph *the prize was valued at* £150,000.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE TAKING OF PORTO BELLO (ISTHMUS OF DARIEN) BY ADMIRAL VERNON, 1739

Given the opportunity to prove his boast that he could capture Porto Bello with six ships, Admiral Vernon astounded everybody by doing it, and did much to popularise the war.

(Macpherson Collection)
COMMODORE ANSON IN THE "CENTURION" CAPTURING THE SPANISH SHIP "NUESTRA SENORA DE CAVADONGA, 1743

Although the Centurion *was worn out by her long cruise and her crew was sadly reduced, she contrived to take this most valuable prize, whose spoils more than paid for the whole expedition.*

LOSS OF THE " VICTORY," 1744

(Engraving by Canot after Painting by Monamy)

Flying the flag of Sir John Balchen and considered one of the finest men-of-war of her day, H.M. 100-*gun ship* Victory *was lost on the Casquets with over* 1,000 *lives, there not being a single survivor.*

tion of carrying out the promises of reparation that she was making, Admiral Edward Vernon was sent out with a small squadron to take Porto Bello, one of the strongest positions in the Spanish Western Empire. There is no doubt that the principal reason of his dispatch was that he had been an implacable critic of the Government and in his blunt manner had boasted that he could take Porto Bello with six ships. Thinking that with enough rope he would undoubtedly hang himself, the Government gave him the six ships and told him to make good his boast, which to everybody's surprise he did. This was partly due to the fact that Vernon was a man who nearly always did anything that he had set his mind on, but it was also due to his realisation of the importance of gunnery and to the fact that his men, in spite of his strict discipline and hard work, simply worshipped him as one of the only flag officers who really had their interests constantly at heart. His signal success, and possibly also the considerable treasure that he won with it, made a huge impression in England and he was accorded the thanks of Parliament and many other honours. In the West his action raised British prestige immensely and his further demands were acceded to immediately.

Cartagena.

The authorities at home realised that the best way to make themselves popular with the public was to follow up Vernon's success as soon as possible and therefore dispatched a big military force to act with him in further operations in Central America. Spain prepared to receive them and at the same time persuaded France to declare for an active alliance and to maintain that any new British conquests in the West Indies would be an act of war, a step that was rather bigger than she had intended and was almost immediately modified. After an ineffective bombardment of Cartagena Vernon went on to Chagres where he obtained a certain amount of spoil. Late in 1740 he was joined by Sir Chaloner Ogle and a big land force and again attacked Cartagena. Unfortunately the usual dissensions between the Navy and the Army sprang up, with the result that little was done and the expedition was a miserable failure. The remnants of the expedition reached Jamaica in 1741 and soon afterwards made an equally futile effort against Santiago de Cuba. Vernon returned to England and the Government assured him that he had their full confidence, but among the pressed men of the fleet was Tobias Smollett who threw in his lot with Vernon's political enemies and, when the Admiral was rash enough to continue the war on paper, was one of his most dangerous opponents.

Anson's Voyage, 1740-1744.

Meanwhile the Admiralty had realised that in addition to the West Indies the Spaniards were very formidable in the Pacific and determined to send out Commodore George Anson to attack their trade there, the original scheme being that he should reach Panama and join hands with Vernon across the Isthmus. Unfortunately the Navy had been far too long at peace and instead of the magnificently equipped squadron that he was promised he eventually had the greatest difficulty

in obtaining six ships, headed by the 60-gun *Centurion* and manned by the sweepings of the gutter and the county gaols. When the first rumours of his enterprise were published the Spaniards were very nervous, but when they received intelligence of the force that was actually sailing they began to laugh. They might have had reason had it not been for the red-faced, stockily-built Commodore who was in command. George Anson was the typical Staffordshire county gentleman, but he had made a considerable name for himself at the Battle of Cape Passaro and since then had been employed on blockade duty that had improved his seamanship when so many other officers of the fleet were going to seed. In spite of the wretched force with which he was ultimately supplied he set out, the gaps in his ranks being made up by invalided men from the hospitals, many of them over seventy years of age. With these he eventually sailed on the 18th of September, 1740, and reaching Gibraltar he learned that the Spaniards had sent out a fleet specially to destroy him. The fact that this fleet proved later to be hopelessly inefficient could not have been very much comfort to the commodore. The passage round Cape Horn showed into what disgraceful condition the ships had been allowed to get, and finally the remnants of the squadron were prevented by the faulty navigational methods of the day from making the Island of Juan Fernandez—familiar to all readers of " Robinson Crusoe "—until the death roll by scurvy had reached an appalling height. One of the ships was wrecked in the passage round the Horn and two others turned back. From Juan Fernandez it was only the flagship *Centurion* and the 50-gun *Gloucester* that were able to continue the voyage and of the flagship's original crew of five hundred, three hundred had already died, while the *Gloucester* was not in very much better condition. However, while their invalids were completing their recovery on the island the two ships contrived to pick up a number of prizes before they struck across the Pacific. The *Centurion* reached Macao in November, 1742, but during the passage it had been found necessary to abandon the *Gloucester* and remove her remaining crew to Anson's own ship—sixteen men and eleven boys fit for duty. Anson refitted at Macao, which being a Portuguese colony did all that they could to help the English against the Spaniards. Still miserably short-handed in June, 1743, the *Centurion* met the Acapulco treasure galleon, *Nuestra Señora de Cavadonga*, on its way from Mexico to Guam and the Phillipines. Anson intercepted her, although he had not even the crew to man a single broadside. He handled them so skilfully, however, and they had such absolute faith in him that after a fierce fight they forced the Spaniard to strike. At the moment of triumph victory seemed to be snatched from him by the news that his magazine was on fire, but Anson never lost his head and had the outbreak extinguished while he was seeing to the transfer of the prisoners and treasure. He then returned to Canton, sold his prize at Macao, and sailed for home by way of the Cape of Good Hope with a colossal booty. As soon as he returned home he was promoted to the rank of

Rear-Admiral, but considering that the authorities were treating his subordinates shabbily he returned his commission.

The War of the Austrian Succession.

The war which ravaged Europe for seven years was started by Frederick II of Prussia invading Silesia in 1740, and by the next year practically the whole of Europe was ablaze. England and Holland, as the traditional enemies of France and Spain, were with the Austrians, while France, Prussia, Spain and Bavaria remained Allies for the whole war with minor powers joining and leaving them at odd intervals. The early land success of Prussia surprised Europe, and France soon saw that this new power was an Ally worth having, drawing the rest of Europe into the struggle. The war was fought by the various powers on entirely selfish lines, which accounts for so little being accomplished in return for all the blood wasted.

The Battle of Toulon, 1744.

While Anson was away France had entered into an active alliance with Spain against us, and to counter her Toulon fleet Admiral Mathews had been sent to the Mediterranean. His first business was to prevent French and Spanish troops going to Italy, whence the most convenient route was by sea. He was kept appallingly short of frigates, which were absolutely essential for his work, but with his heavy ships he hung on to the Toulon coast so doggedly that finally the Franco-Spanish fleet was ordered out. Nothing suited Mathews better, but instead of attacking him as he had expected the enemy seemed anxious only to escape. The obvious explanation of this was that they wanted to draw him away to permit the much-needed troops to slip away to Italy. It was a puzzling situation, and the Admiral decided to cripple the fleet and then hurry back to his post as quickly as possible. Taking it all in all he succeeded remarkably well, for he drove the Allies into Cartagena, although only a small part of his force could engage, and then returned to Toulon before the transports could sail. Safe in port the enemy claimed it as a great victory and political considerations at home were such that it suited the authorities to make Mathews a scapegoat, with the result that he was dismissed the Service, although the real fault was with the authorities who had let the fleet get into such a condition that he had not sufficient material to carry out both duties. He was not a brilliant Nelson, but he had done his best and certainly did not deserve the punishment that he received. Some of the subordinates who had supported him so ill deserved cashiering far more than he did.

Anson at the Admiralty.

In June, 1751, the post of First Lord of the Admiralty having become vacant somewhat suddenly, Anson's interest caused him to be appointed and to the surprise of many people it turned out that it would have been impossible to make a wiser selection. One of his greatest achievements was to put the Royal Marines on to a permanent and sound footing under the control of the Admiralty without any interference from

the Army. His practical knowledge of the fleet was unique and he had a gift for weighing up his brother officers, so that when England went to war with France in 1755 the fleet was in excellent condition, probably better than on any other occasion. His tenure of office was broken by the Byng affair, for which he was very largely held responsible, but he returned to office in 1757 and to his credit must be placed a very large part of our phenomenal success during the next few years. To the lower deck he was endeared by the fact that it was entirely owing to his efforts that Parliament passed an Act by which seamen were to be regularly and frequently paid their wages. The work undermined even his magnificent constitution and the death of his wife to whom he was devoted was the final blow, so that he died in 1762, a striking example of one of the best types of seaman we have ever had in the British Navy.

The North American Campaign.

While the situation was thus developing in Europe the French were making themselves very strong in North America and naturally this meant that the war had to be carried into that Continent sooner or later. England had received a number of territories in the Continent under the Treaty of Utrecht but had administered them so badly that she certainly did not deserve to keep them and the French saw no reason why she should. They entered into an alliance with the Indians and soon contrived to take a number of ill-defended posts, but a real effort was made to defend Nova Scotia with signal success. The encouragement of this suggested to the British administration in America that the capture of Louisbourg in Cape Breton would make a big difference to the activities of the French and accordingly a fleet and army were raised in the New England States. This took some time but it was ready for sea in 1745 and assembled at Boston. The French Captain Kersaint in the crack frigate *Renommée* attempted to intercept the expedition but was beaten off by the privateer escort before the force of naval ships joined the expedition. A bigger French ship was sent out with stores but was captured by Commodore Peter Warren's squadron; after a short campaign the fortress of Louisbourg fell and with it the whole province of Cape Breton.

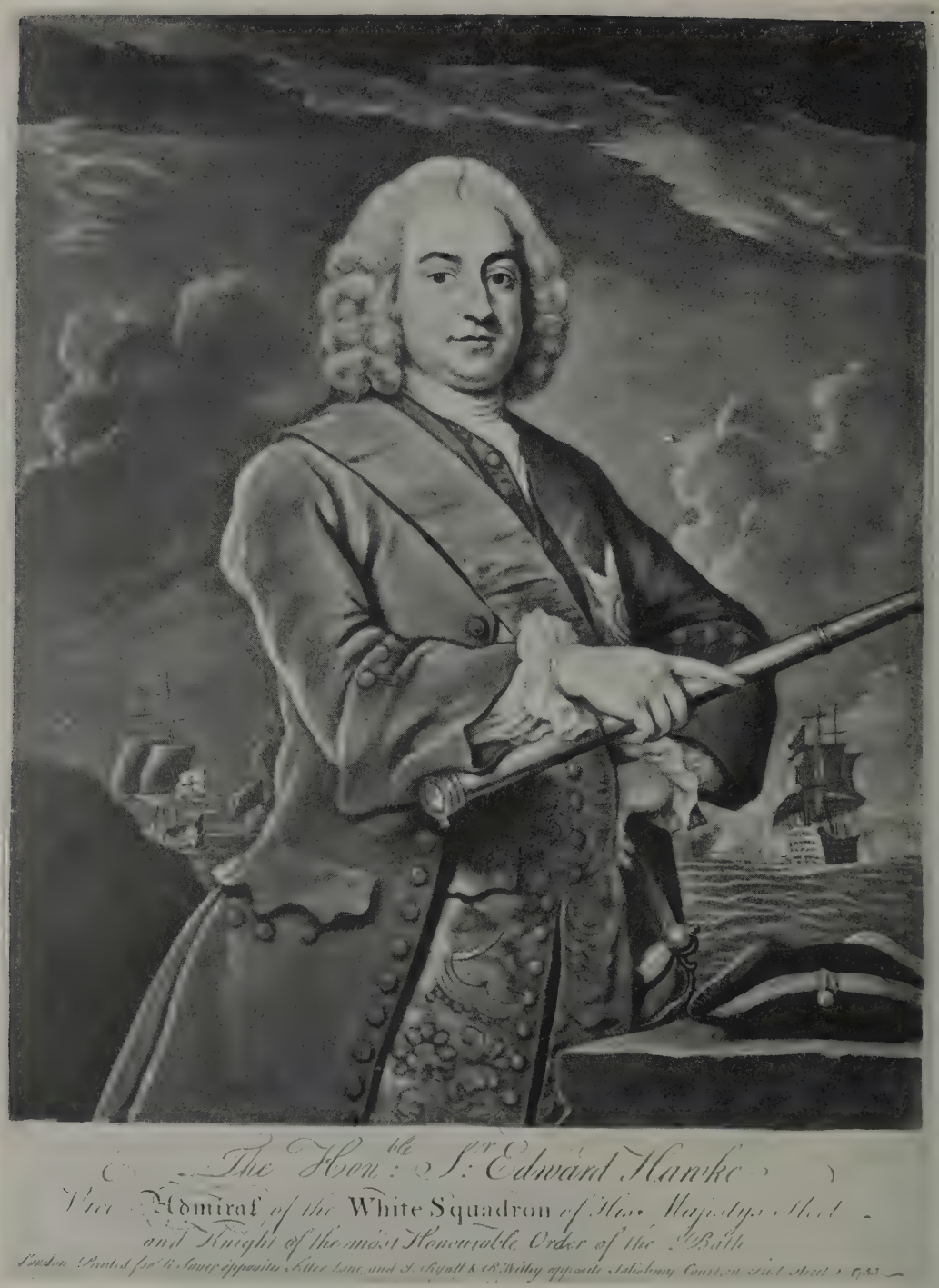
The Young Pretender.

The activities of Prince Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, on the Continent were a source of very considerable embarrassment to the British Government. He had distinguished himself in action while still a boy of thirteen, and having all his family's personal charm and ability to win devoted adherents he seemed to have infinitely better chance of winning his aim than his less popular father. On the other hand he was not nearly as careful or thorough as the Old Pretender and would rush in where his father would see the risk and hang back. Thus it came about that the projected Franco-Jacobite invasion of 1744 was frustrated owing to a big storm scattering the French transport fleet under Admiral Roquefeuil which was to carry Marshal Saxe and his 7,000 men to England. The older man would have abandoned the enterprise and

(Macpherson Collection)

H.M.S. " NOTTINGHAM " CAPTURING THE " MARS "
(Engraving by Parr after Monamy)

Although she was hopelessly overmatched and had a very sickly crew, the French frigate Mars *put up a magnificent fight for two hours before she finally surrendered.*


The Hon.ble S.r Edward Hawke
Vice Admiral of the White Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet
and Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath

SIR EDWARD (AFTERWARDS LORD) HAWKE AS HE APPEARED IN 1755
(From a Mezzotint Engraving dated 1755)

Distinguished alike as a gallant Admiral and as an able administrator, Hawke also deserves to be remembered by the system of discipline which he really introduced, and on which he insisted from his officers.

An exact Draft of the TERRIBLE a FRENCH Man of War of 74 Guns taken the 14th of October 1747 by the BRITISH FLEET under
the Command of the Hon.ble Sir Edward Hawke K.t of the Bath &c. then Rear
Admiral of the White: And most humbly Dedicated to the R.t Hon.ble
Guards by his Lordships most Obed.t &c. humble Serv.t

(Macpherson Collection)

THE FRENCH 74-GUN SHIP "TERRIBLE," CAPTURED IN 1747
(From an Engraving published in 1748)

This print gives a good idea of the grace of the French ships of the period, and shows the manner in which the boats were slung out with the yard-arms.

(Macpherson Collection)

GEORGE, LORD ANSON (1697-1762)
(Mezzotint by McArdell after Sir Joshua Reynolds)

Principally remembered by the wonderful voyage of the Centurion, *Anson was a magnificent administrator as well as a fighting seaman who never lost his head and who could always command the affectionate following of his men.*

awaited a better opportunity, but the Young Chevalier was all impatience to be off and when no further French aid in force was forthcoming he sailed without it in the summer of 1745. He was carried in the small French brig *La Doutelle*, while his munitions were brought across in the corvette *Elisabeth*. The latter came upon a superior English man-of-war and turned back, but the Prince hung on to his hopes and landed in the Hebrides on his ill-starred rebellion of Forty-Five. His hopes were shattered on land, but by the devotion of his followers he contrived to regain his French refuge and it is only to be deplored that a Prince of his gallantry and opportunities should have sunk to the depths that he contrived before his miserable death in 1788.

Vernon and the Lower Deck.

When the country was alarmed at the progress made by the Young Pretender Admiral Vernon was put in command of the fleet in the Downs, but his irascible temper brought him into conflict with everybody. He was perfectly genuine in his espousal of the cause of the seaman, for whom he demanded far better treatment than anybody seemed inclined to grant at that time, but his methods were deplorable and he soon defeated his own ends. He then, in a luckless moment, resorted to the writing of pamphlets, a very common political method of the day but one in which he was exceedingly clumsy, while his opponents were masters. The result was that he was dismissed his command and struck off the list of flag officers in 1746, and although he continued to represent Ipswich in Parliament until his sudden death in 1757, he was of no further service to the country.

The Actions off Finisterre, 1747.

The ill luck of the French in the distant seas caused them to fit out two expeditions, one under the Marquis de la Jonquière for the recovery of their colonies in North America, and the other under Admiral Grou de St. Georges to attempt to turn us out of the Indian coast. They sailed together with their convoys for their better protection against the English, but in the meantime Anson and Rear-Admiral Peter Warren had commissioned a squadron to intercept them. The two fleets met off Finisterre on the 3rd of May, 1747, and, very largely owing to the poor support given to the French Admiral by his armed East Indiamen, the French sustained a serious defeat which was prevented from being final by nightfall. Anson was given a peerage and Warren knighted, while no less than £300,000 in specie fell to the victors as part of their booty.

In October of the same year Rear-Admiral Edward Hawke was at sea with a squadron which was ordered to intercept a large convoy which France was collecting in the Basque Roads for dispatch to the West Indies. He succeeded in doing this off Finisterre. The French under Admiral Herbiers de l'Etenduère fought with the greatest gallantry and skill, but they had no chance against the superior English force and of their eight big ships six were taken. The remaining two were pursued by our frigates, but not only did the English force fail to prevent them

getting to Brest but it lost Philip de Saumarez, who was killed in command of the *Nottingham* and was a very serious loss to the Navy. The French had damaged Hawke's ships badly aloft, so that he decided that it would be unwise to try to pursue the convoy that had been getting away in charge of two frigates, but he sent a sloop to warn British ships in the West Indies and many of their vessels were subsequently taken. It was a decisive and important victory for the English but the greatest credit must go to the French Admiral.

Boscawen in the East Indies.

The last important operation before the armistice was by the command of Rear-Admiral Edward Boscawen, who was sent out to take charge of the East India Squadron in 1747. Things were not going well there, for the English force was pitted against the French Admiral Bouvet, who was certainly a master of his craft and who contrived to get a large number of ships into Madras in spite of all efforts to thwart him. Boscawen had with him eleven transports and six Dutch troopships and with these he made a small and unsuccessful attempt on Mauritius—which would certainly have fallen had he persisted—and set about the attack of Pondicherry. After many weary months the siege was raised at the beginning of the rainy season in October, a failure that cost England dear in her prestige with the natives. Meanwhile a cessation of hostilities had been arranged in England but it was thought better to keep the Admiral on the station ready for any action that might be needed.

The West Indies.

Meanwhile Rear-Admiral Charles Knowles was operating in the West Indies with a considerable squadron and a big body of troops. In this campaign we still retain minute details of the transport arrangements and it is a wonder that any of the soldiers arrived to meet the Spaniards. Officers responsible for the commissioning of troopers were requested not to choose ships with a height between decks of less than four feet six inches "in order that the troops might be comfortable." What chance of comfort was to be obtained week in and week out in that stifling climate in quarters that would scarcely permit a man to sit upright, much less stand, could only be imagined by the officials responsible. The first action was the capture of Port Louis, Hispaniola, together with some merchant shipping and three very troublesome privateers. From there the expedition went on to Santiago de Cuba, which had been carefully prepared for the attack. A heavy boom was got in position and in consequence the fleet returned to Jamaica after a desultory action with the forts. Later in the year, Knowles took his fleet to intercept a Spanish treasure convoy which was understood to be sailing from Vera Cruz to Havana. Instead he met a Spanish squadron of considerable power and after an unsatisfactory action took one 64-gun ship, the Spaniards themselves destroyed their flagship a few days afterwards. Knowles invariably made a point of complaining of his officers,

but in this case they were acquitted by the court and he himself was found guilty of negligence and reprimanded.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

From the early Spring of 1748 peace negotiations had been going on in Aix-la-Chapelle which were finally agreed upon in October. The terms included the general restitution of conquests and the settlement of numerous disputes between minor Mediterranean powers. Of more importance to England was the fact that she was granted the right to send one ship a year to the Spanish colonies and the Protestant Succession to the English throne was recognised. Later the British attitude with regard to Spanish Colonial trade was modified in return for a grant of £100,000. Even the original and ostensible cause of the whole war was remembered and the right of Maria Theresa to the Habsburg Crown was established.

The Seven Years' War.

Peace was not to be of very long duration, for a coalition between Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and Sweden was formed with the idea of crippling Frederick the Great and his rapidly growing power. Principally for Imperial reasons England threw in her lot with Prussia and the greater part of the war as far as the British were concerned was fought in distant seas. Frederick struck the first blow by invading Saxony at the end of August, 1756, and almost immediately afterwards the British Navy was embroiled. Really the war was only more or less of a pretext for this, for in the previous year French aggression in North America had caused Boscawen to be sent to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence with a force to intercept the troops which they were sending out there. The line-of-battleships, *Alcide* and *Lys*, armed *en flûte*, were the only two ships immediately captured and were followed by a general seizure of French merchant ships wherever found. Louis XV immediately prepared to invade England, a plan that caused considerable panic which the actions of the Government did nothing to dispel.

Minorca.

One of the great objects of the French at this time was to seize Minorca, which gave England an excellent base in the Mediterranean and was a constant threat to French naval power there. They made no secret of their intentions, but the British Government did nothing to strengthen the base and left it with a tiny garrison under a gallant officer eighty-two years of age. When at last the position became alarming Vice-Admiral John Byng was given command of a fleet and ordered to relieve the island, but the force that was put at his disposal was ridiculously inadequate, consisting of ten ill-found sail of the line. A plea for reinforcements from the strong forces wasted in home waters was refused and Admiral Byng was not even allowed to draw on these ships for men. On the 20th of May, 1756, he met a French squadron of roughly equal force but unfortunately better manned and found. Byng attacked, but rather clumsily, and the English force was wasted

while the ships were considerably crippled aloft by the French fire. Unfortunately he did not act with the dash which, judging after the event, he might have done. At the subsequent court-martial it appeared that he was deterred by the unsatisfactory sentence passed on Admiral Mathews, but the fact remains that the action was quite undecisive, while the French, considering that the capture of Minorca was their main object, crippled his ships too severely to permit a pursuit. The result was that Byng returned to Gibraltar and left the island to its fate; there he met the reinforcements that should have been sent out to him long before. Before the Admiral had sent in his version of the action the country was already ablaze with indignation, and as soon as possible he was superseded, tried by court-martial in a manner that did not give him the least chance, and sentenced to death. At the same time the court spoke very strongly of having to pass this sentence on a man who might have been guilty only of an error of judgment and put in a strong plea for clemency. This, however, was unavailing, and the Admiral was shot on the quarter deck of the *Monarch* on March 14th, 1757. He died as gallant a death as any man could and the whole affair is now universally, and was then quite generally, regarded as a gross miscarriage of justice.

The Situation in the East.

In India the British were in no better position than they had been for many years and immediately the Seven Years' War broke out France saw her opportunity of causing trouble there. A number of French transports were ordered out and it was plain that when they had landed their troops the policy was to arm them and commission them as men-of-war against British commerce. At the same time Surajah Dowleh, the native ruler of Bengal, had taken the opportunity to assault British posts and had slaughtered a number of English residents in most appalling circumstances in the infamous Black Hole of Calcutta. Vice-Admiral Charles Watson was Commander-in-Chief on the East Indies station with a considerable squadron and had just received orders to return to England when he received information of this atrocity. He had the strength of mind to act as he thought fit and disregarded them entirely, reinforced his squadron as much as he could by local purchases and sailed for Calcutta in December, 1756. The fort of Bougee-Bougee was expected to give a lot of trouble and preparations were made to attack it, but while these were in progress a drunken seaman named Strachan found his way in and so surprised the native defenders that they fled for a moment, but long enough to give an attacking party time to establish themselves. Reprimanded for drunkenness, Strachan was heard to remark that " he'd never take another fort single-handed again as long as he lived." This unexpected success broke up the defence and in spite of the strength of the place the English possessed themselves of it with remarkably little trouble. Watson followed up his success with remarkable energy and co-operating with Clive on shore soon forced the natives to sue for peace and gave the British an opportunity

(Macpherson Collection)

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD VERNON (1684-1777)
(MEZZOTINT ENGRAVING BY JONES AFTER SINGLETON)

" Old Grog," as he was called from his foul-weather coat of grogran, was awkward to deal with and frequently very troublesome to authority, but he was a fine seaman of the old school and had a genuine concern for the welfare of the men under him.

(Macpherson Collection)

PRIZES TAKEN BY ANSON'S FLEET, 1747

The action off Finisterre won Anson his peerage and resulted in eleven prizes. Those shown are the Gloire *and* Jason, *while on the right is the Spanish* Glorioso, *taken about the same time.*

To the R.t Hon.ble George Lord Anson Baron of Soberton,
One of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and
Vice Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet

(Macpherson Collection)

ANSON'S FLEET RETURNING TO PORTSMOUTH, 1747
(From an Engraving published the Same Year)

Needless to say, the news of Anson's victory and the prizes that he brought in caused the greatest excitement throughout the country.

(Macpherson Collection)

PLYMOUTH FORT AND ST. NICHOLAS' ISLAND FROM MOUNT EDGCUMBE, 1755
(From an Engraving by J. Mason published the Same Year)

The progress of the war tended to make Portsmouth of more importance than the Western base, but Plymouth also was kept very busy.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE SHOOTING OF ADMIRAL BYNG ON BOARD THE "MONARCH"
(From a Contemporary Engraving)

The execution of Admiral Byng "pour encourager les autres" is still one of the most discussed incidents in British naval history.

(Macpherson Collection)

DEFEAT OF A FRENCH SQUADRON OFF CAPE FRANCOIS, OCTOBER 21, 1757
(Engraving by Canot after Paton, 1759)

In this action, fought on what was later to be Trafalgar Day, the Captain Suckling who first took Nelson to sea greatly distinguished himself.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE "MONMOUTH" TAKING THE "FOUDROYANT," FEBRUARY 28, 1758
(From an Engraving after a Painting by Francis Swaine)

The 54-*gun ship* Monmouth *compelled the French* 84 Foudroyant *to surrender after a gallant action off Cape de Gapa.*

(Macpherson Collection)

BURNING OF THE "PRUDENT" AT LOUISBOURG, 1758
(Engraving by Canot after Paton)

A gallant British cutting-out expedition from Boscawen's fleet succeeded in capturing the Prudent *and the* Bienfaisant, *but the former stranded and had to be burned, while the latter was towed out of the harbour.*

of devoting their attention to the French. Soon after the Battle of Plassey had completed for the time the work that he had begun so well, Admiral Watson died, a magnificent type of naval officer who has received all too little honour.

Forrest and de Kersaint, 1757.

Off Cape François in the West Indies a particularly gallant action was fought by Captain Arthur Forrest with three ships against a French squadron of seven sail under de Kersaint. The British ships had hoped to catch a convoy and had not reckoned on French reinforcements. When the full enemy force was sighted Forrest called his two subordinate captains for a council and pointing out the seven ships remarked: "Well gentlemen, you see they are come out to engage us." Captain Maurice Suckling was in command of the *Dreadnought* and dryly replied: "I think it would be a pity to disappoint them." This Captain Suckling was the uncle of Horatio Nelson and as it was in his ship that the hero of Trafalgar first went to sea it is not unjust to credit him with influencing some of the characteristics of the great naval hero. For two and a half hours the three fought the seven and in the end the French were glad enough to draw off with heavy casualties. Eventually de Kersaint got his convoy into French waters, but at the very end of their journey they encountered a severe gale and three of the seven men-of-war were lost.

Cape Breton Island.

Meanwhile it had been determined to retake Cape Breton, which had been handed back to the French under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and for that purpose a big combined expedition was assembled in New York. Owing to mismanagement and the non-arrival of essential ships this expedition was forestalled by French reinforcements. It was further hampered by a furious storm which scattered the British fleet and overwhelmed several ships. Many had to be sent back to England to refit and there was an end to all efforts for the year 1757. Next year further preparations were made and Boscawen appointed to the command. The town was gallantly defended but finally surrendered, together with the whole of Cape Breton Island and the neighbouring island of St. John, which is now Prince Edward's Island.

The Capture of Quebec, 1759.

Immediately Cape Breton was in British hands it was determined to push on and attempt to turn the French out of the St. Lawrence Basin. Boscawen was wanted elsewhere and the naval command was given to Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, who had already made a great name for himself in the Mediterranean. Captain Cook the navigator was with him and it was due to his careful cartography and study of the currents that the failure of the previous expedition was avoided. The military forces were under the command of General James Wolfe who, in spite of his youth, had made a name for himself at Louisbourg. Accompanied by a strong battle fleet transports finally contrived to reach Quebec

where Montcalm's position on the heights appeared to be impregnable. The expeditionary force was huddled together until safe anchorages could be found, when the French launched a squadron of fire-ships on top of them. For a time the success of the expedition hung in the balance, but the boats of the fleet contrived to grapple and beach them and the danger was over. Army and Navy worked magnificently together and there was no suggestion of imperfect co-operation for the whole of the venture. Some of the warships had contrived to run the gauntlet of the French patrols and had established themselves above the fortress, but from there the Heights of Abraham appeared to be as defensible as the rest of the French position. However, a pathway was found up the face of the cliff and the problem was how to get Wolfe's army up it without being discovered. A feint attack was made at night on the down-stream defences while the troops, who had been carefully concealed in their transports, were silently pulled to the foot of the pathway and, guided by bluejackets, found their way to the top. The bluejackets also took up the necessary supplies and even guns, so that in the morning Wolfe was in a magnificent position and in a hard-fought battle next day he contrived to defeat Montcalm in a manner which gave the British French Canada.

Minor Operations.

While these major operations were going on in the West and the East there were a number of minor operations carried out with skill and gallantry, some of the single-ship actions in particular being magnificently fought. It was not easy sailing and not all of the ventures were successful, but generally speaking they were well-conducted and added numerous spots of red to the map. Among many may be mentioned Hawke at the Isle of Aix, Pocock's series of fights with the French Commander D'Aché in the Indian Ocean, Howe at Cherbourg and Boscawen's victory off Lagos.

Quiberon Bay, 1759.

Meanwhile the French prepared an invasion of Great Britain on a very large scale. England, Ireland and Scotland were to be attacked simultaneously. The Irish force was to sail from the Morbihan escorted by the Brest and Toulon squadrons. England was to be attacked by a big flotilla of flat-bottomed boats collected at Havre, while a diversion on Scotland was to be carried out by five frigates from Dunkirk and a landing force. The Western squadron, whose duty it was to watch these operations, was under the command of Admiral Sir Edward Hawke, a magnificent seaman and a man of remarkable character. Loyal to his seniors to the last degree he was just as careful of his subordinates, but he was quick to take offence and in those days a keen Admiral with his heart in his work generally had plenty of reason. The Admiralty were offended by his constant pleas for the care of the lower deck and tried to relieve him, but he was too strong for them and the public were solidly behind him. Hawke himself maintained the closest possible blockade on Brest. In the worst of westerly weather, knowing

that the French would be bound by it, he got off the lee-shore and sheltered in Plymouth or Torbay, but he was back again as soon as the wind changed. Admiral de Conflans waited his opportunity in Brest, but the Toulon squadron had been cut up by Boscawen. However, he had practically the same force as Hawke and his ships were fresh, while the British were worn out. In November the weather got so bad that Hawke was forced to leave the coast for a short time, and while away Admiral Bompart from Martinique slipped in and joined de Conflans at Brest, bringing him a very welcome reinforcement of first-class seamen. Distributing them through his fleet de Conflans sailed on the 14th of November, 1759, with twenty-three ships of the line, while Hawke was hurrying back to his station with twenty-one. Knowing that the French would go to Morbihan to pick up their transports he determined to cut them off, passing into Quiberon in bad weather. The pilot demurred that it was suicide and Hawke quietly heard his protest and then told him to carry on. A magnificent action was fought under the worst of conditions, Hawke in the *Royal George* well in the van. Attempting to save the French flagship *Soleil Royal* their 74-gun ship *Superbe* checked her way to get between the two flagships. She received the full broadside of the *Royal George* just as she was lifting on a big roller and sank like a stone with the greater part of her gallant company. Two English ships were lost among the dangerous reefs but the French fleet was entirely dispersed. Their Admiral escaped to shore half naked when his flagship was burned and in all six line-of-battleships were destroyed or captured. Seven more jettisoned their guns and stores to get over the bar and could never get back again, while the remnant contrived to escape into Rochefort. It was a wonderful victory and saved England from the fear of invasion at a cost of three hundred casualties, but immediately afterwards Hawke was forced once again to complain about the wretched supplies sent out to him. A popular ballad of the period ran :—

Ere Hawke did bang Monsieur Conflans
You gave us beef and beer ;
But now he's beat we've nought to eat,
For you have nought to fear.

Thurot's Expedition.

In the year after Quiberon the French Commodore Thurot, who had been given the protection of the expedition that was to sail against Scotland, attempted to carry out his scheme. He slipped past the blockade at Dunkirk, turned up at Gothenburg and thence went to Bergen. Three of his ships returned to France and his whole force was chronically discontented. However, the Commodore insisted on pressing on and, landing some six hundred men at Carrickfergus, captured the town. The advance on Belfast was prevented by the internal dissensions of the force and the expedition prepared to return to France. On the way up Belfast Loch it met Captain John Elliot and his three frigates detached from Hawke's fleet, who had no difficulty in capturing

the whole French force. Thurot was killed in the fight and in him the French lost one of their most gallant and dashing corsair captains. Born in 1726, François Thurot was apprenticed to a druggist and at the age of eighteen sailed as surgeon of a privateer. Soon he was in command and did magnificent service for the French Navy, from whom he eventually received a commission. The subject of great jealousy by his compatriots, he was honoured by the British fleet more than any other enemy, and it was always said that throughout his career he was never tempted away from the path of the strictest rectitude and no incident ever besmirched his personal honour.

The Capture of Belleisle, 1761.

In 1761 it was determined to take Belleisle, which occupied a very important strategic position on the coast of France. Commodore the Hon. Augustus Keppel was given the task with a powerful fleet and sailed at the end of March. Ten thousand troops were carried under the command of Major John Studholm Hodgson. The first landing was beaten back and then operations were suspended for some time by bad weather, but the second was more successful and finally the citadel surrendered on the 7th of June. It was another occasion on which success followed harmony between the naval and military commanders and it did much to wipe out the stain of Minorca.

Martinique, 1762.

In 1762 a number of important captures were made, but the most important of all was the Island of Martinique, which in French hands was a very sore spot for England. Early in the year a powerful fleet under Rear-Admiral George Rodney embarked some fourteen thousand troops and attacked the island, although the force had neither charts nor maps that were suitable and was at a very great disadvantage. The French defended their only strong position gallantly but it was captured with five hundred casualties.

The Peace of Paris.

The final stage of the Seven Years' War came about through Spain throwing her Navy into the struggle beside France through the " Family Compact." This gave England the opportunity of an excuse to attack Havana and Manilla. Finally peace came about through the Treaty of Paris, which was signed on the 3rd of November, 1762.

(Macpherson Collection)

VIEW OF ROSEAU IN THE ISLAND OF DOMINIQUE, WITH THE ATTACK MADE BY LORD ROLLO AND SIR JAMES DOUGLAS IN 1760.
(Drawn on the spot by Lt. Arch. Campbell; engraved by James Peake.)

(Macpherson Collection)

VIEW OF CAPE ROUGE, NEAR QUEBEC, 1759
(Engraving by P. Mazell from a Drawing made on the Spot by Capt. Hervey Smyth)

The Capture of Quebec and Lower Canada was attended with great difficulty, and the operations extended some miles up and down the river.

DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH FLEET UNDER CONFLANS BY SIR EDWARD HAWKE
(Engraving by P. Benazech after Swaine)

The victory of Quiberon Bay in 1759 was one of the most desperate and heroic in history, and saved England from invasion.
(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

(Macpherson Collection)

ENGLISH SHIPS WITH THEIR PRIZES IN RAMSAY BAY, ISLE OF MAN
(Engraving by Goldar after R. Wright)

In spite of the defeat of the main invading force by Hawke, Thurot attempted to carry on his part of the programme and was killed in the action that led to the capture of his force. The above engraving gives a broadside view of Thurot's ship, the Maréchal Belleisle.

(Macpherson Collection)

ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE " FLAMBOROUGH " AND " BIDEFORD " AND TWO FRENCH FRIGATES, 1760

(MEZZOTINT BY HOUSTON AFTER HOOD, PUBLISHED 1761)

Although the British ships had only twenty guns apiece, they contrived to maul the two French 32-gun frigates so severely that their convoy reached Lisbon in safety

CHAPTER III—THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The Beginning of it All.

The next great era in naval history centres round the War of American Independence, that unhappy struggle which was so unnecessary and left such a legacy of ill-feeling. Nowadays one can well look back on the history of it and apportion the blame fairly. The British had just engaged in an expensive war, very largely for the defence of the growing empire of which what is now the United States was the principal portion. At home there was a vague idea that the colonies, which had certainly prospered wonderfully, should contribute to the cost of this war. There is a good deal in this, but there is no excusing the way that the authorities went about it. The American colonies had prospered by their own efforts with little enough help and often with considerable handicap from those at home, and they had reason to complain of the way they were treated. Certainly the British Colonial administration was better than that of the Spanish, but the two empires were on such entirely different bases that the comparison cannot fairly be made. The colonists saw themselves the possessors of a wonderful Land of Promise which they had built for themselves; folks at home seemed to see only British subjects who were as taxable as the inhabitants of London. Unfortunately they did not even go to the extent of giving them the same rights as the inhabitants of London and it was extraordinary the lengths to which they seemed willing to go in order to tread on their toes and hurt their feelings. A pig-headed King who tried to act as his own Prime Minister and a corrupt Government were ingredients in the mess, which can only be described as one of the very worst instances of British policy. Nowadays all the bitter feeling has gone on the British side and happily it is rapidly disappearing in the United States, for it is realised that the British only got what they asked for, and although the loss of these colonies was a bad enough blow to British prestige at the time it is certain that it was the very best that could have happened in the long run, for England could not possibly have continued to rule a country of such vast possibilities and at the same time the method of the severance taught the British the real secrets of colonisation. The Act which was to help pay for the Seven Years' War was passed in 1764 and provided for all sorts of taxes and means of obtaining money. It was followed by numerous other measures, the best known being the Stamp Act.

The Boston Tea Party, 1773.

The centre of the opposition to the King's Government was the State of Massachusetts. The strengthening of the Boston garrison round about 1768 to 1770 intensified the feelings and a strong campaign of passive resistance grew up. Even then the signs of the times could not be read by the authorities at home, and it was the Boston Tea Party in December, 1773, which really shook them into a realisation of what was happening. A party of young Americans disguised as Indians boarded a number of tea ships in the harbour and threw the cargoes into the sea in order that taxes might not be collected on them. As a retaliation the

port of Boston was closed and the bitter feeling of the people thereby greatly increased, so that soon afterwards it became obvious that the States must secede although it must be noted that at the beginning practically everybody in the revolutionary camp hoped that it would be by peaceful arrangement. The same hope was held out by the British authorities on the spot, especially Admiral Howe, who was so loath to interfere with the freedom of Colonial vessels that he let them pass unmolested although he knew perfectly well that they were supplying Washington's Army.

The Lake Path.

The experience of the French War had shown that the road to the heart of the United States was by way of the chain of lakes that led into Canada, especially Lake Champlain. On the sound old principle that a vigorous offensive is by far the best defence the Americans immediately started an expedition to Canada, partly to embarrass the British and partly to prevent them getting reinforcements down by that road. This campaign was really the work of Benedict Arnold and the leaders of the revolutionary party were at the time none too pleased with him as it tended to destroy their hopes of a peaceful settlement. In May, 1775, however, a little party of less than 300 under Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allan seized two small British posts at the Southern end of Lake Champlain where it was narrow enough for their possession to command the waterway. Finding a small schooner Arnold took thirty men and captured the post of St. John's which is at the extreme end of the Lake and now in Canadian territory. He learned that an army was advancing and knowing that it could not proceed except by water he destroyed everything that would float and successfully held it up. Having prevented the English invasion of the States, the handful of adventurers actually started an invasion of Canada and established a land blockade of Quebec which had to be relieved by British warships hurried up in spite of the ice in the river.

The Campaign of Lake Champlain, 1776.

Meanwhile Benedict Arnold on the Lake was strengthening his position as he knew that the British were bound to recommence their operations when the weather permitted. He collected all the carpenters that he could find and turned out as many galleys and small pulling gun-boats as he could get built. His ideal was to build a 36-gun frigate that would dominate the Lake, but his resources were not equal to this ambitious project and he had to do the best that he could. On the other hand the British were equally handicapped, for although they had plenty of men and materials they could not launch their ships direct into the Lake as Arnold did but had to build them in Canadian waters and then take them along the Richelieu River. This was very shallow and anything bigger than a flat-bottomed barge had to be taken in sections and rebuilt at the extreme end of the Lake. Finally they managed to construct a ship-rigged sloop, mounting eighteen 12-pounders and named *Inflexible*, with two schooners and a number of small gun-boats. This

made the British force on the Lake superior to the Americans, but Arnold's disposition of his little squadron was so masterly that when the two forces met it was for some time a matter of chance as to who should prove the victor. After three days of fighting the Americans had lost ten of their fifteen ships and were forced to burn the remainder, but although his force was destroyed Arnold had saved the Lake for a year and directly caused the failure of the British campaign of 1777 and ensured the ultimate independence of the United States. After this brilliant beginning it is disappointing to record that Arnold quarrelled with the Americans and eventually was led by his bitterness to betray his people, and finally died loathed by both parties.

The Attack on Charleston.

The war on land was being maintained by the British only by means of their sea communications, and things were going so badly that it was necessary to take the very greatest care not to dissipate the small forces that were available. Yet this is just what the British authorities did time and again, and having been forced to evacuate Boston in 1776 an attack of Charleston, South Carolina, was immediately planned, although it is difficult to see what good could possibly have been done by it except to cause a rising of the former Royalists in the State. This attack was the first of many ex-centric operations in the course of the war which did the British cause immense harm. The Americans were under the command of one Moultrie and the work that he hastily threw up still bears his name. Hopelessly short of ammunition and consequently unable to answer the fire of Commodore Sir Peter Parker's squadron in anything like equal strength, they found that the works that they had hurriedly constructed were the finest defences possible and in spite of a fierce action gallantly maintained on both sides the attackers had to withdraw. A midshipman who distinguished himself on this occasion was James Saumarez, afterwards the celebrated Admiral. Had it not been that the enfilading division took the ground the result might have been very different.

The Capture of New York, 1776.

After the fiasco of Charleston better counsels prevailed for an attack on New York which really was the strategic point of the very greatest importance. Admiral Lord Howe was in command of the Fleet with his brother General Howe in command of the Army, and they were invested not only with military power but also authority to negotiate peace if possible. Both were fine men in their way, but the sailor was undoubtedly the greater and in spite of his taciturn disposition he won and retained the warm friendship and admiration of the Americans, who always held him in the very highest regard. Sailing from Halifax in June the force arrived at Sandy Hook on July 3rd, while the Admiral arrived flying his flag in the *Eagle* on the 12th. Unfortunately the Declaration of Independence had been made on the 4th of July, so that a month was wasted in fruitless negotiations for peace. Combined operations after this led to the capture of New York, but although it and

the subsequent operations on Long Island were military rather than naval they could not possibly have been carried out at all had it not been for the presence and assistance of the fleet. Unfortunately the point in which the Navy failed was that they did not watch the water retreat sufficiently carefully, with the result that the New England fishermen in the American forces contrived to get the defeated army away by night, intact and very ready to fight again.

The First Torpedo Attack.

It was while Howe was lying off Governor's Island, New York, during these negotiations that the first torpedo attack was launched by a sergeant in the American Army named Ezra Lee. A young colonist named David Bushnell had interested himself while at Yale University by studying the problem of submarine navigation, in which he saw infinite possibilities. He therefore invented an extraordinary type of submarine ship, somewhat like an egg with a flattened top and propelled at a very slow speed with a rudimentary screw propeller worked by hand, the boat being forced under water by similar means. In normal circumstances she was designed to float just awash, only submerging by means of water ballast and her horizontal propeller when it was absolutely necessary. Attached to the outer shell was an infernal machine containing 150 pounds of gunpowder ignited by clockwork and fitted with a screw. In this extraordinary machine Sergeant Lee determined to attack the British flagship. It was towed as near as possible to the British fleet by two pulling boats and then allowed to drift down on the tide. By luck and enormous effort he managed to get alongside the *Eagle* and attempted to attach his torpedo. Unfortunately he had not reckoned that she was copper sheathed, with the result that daylight came before he had finished and he had to abandon it, escaping in safety on the turning tide, and leaving the machine to drift ashore and to explode to the astonishment of the English. The boat escaped in safety but was not used again.

Howe's Expedition to the Chesapeake.

Another case of the fatal British tendency to divide the forces which were already insufficient for their purpose occurred in 1777 when the greater part of Lord Howe's fleet in American waters made an attempt on the Chesapeake. General Burgoyne was already in a rather awkward position when this operation was undertaken, and the result of it was that he was forced to surrender with disastrous results that will be mentioned later. Had the British possessed a large Navy in American waters the move might have been justified, but there was not a ship more than was urgently needed and the removal of the fleet from the Hudson River was a very sad blow to the troops who were operating in the State of New York. The combined operations of the Fleet and Army certainly achieved what they set out to do, but there is no denying that all their success made not the slightest difference to the result of the war; in fact it did far more harm than good.

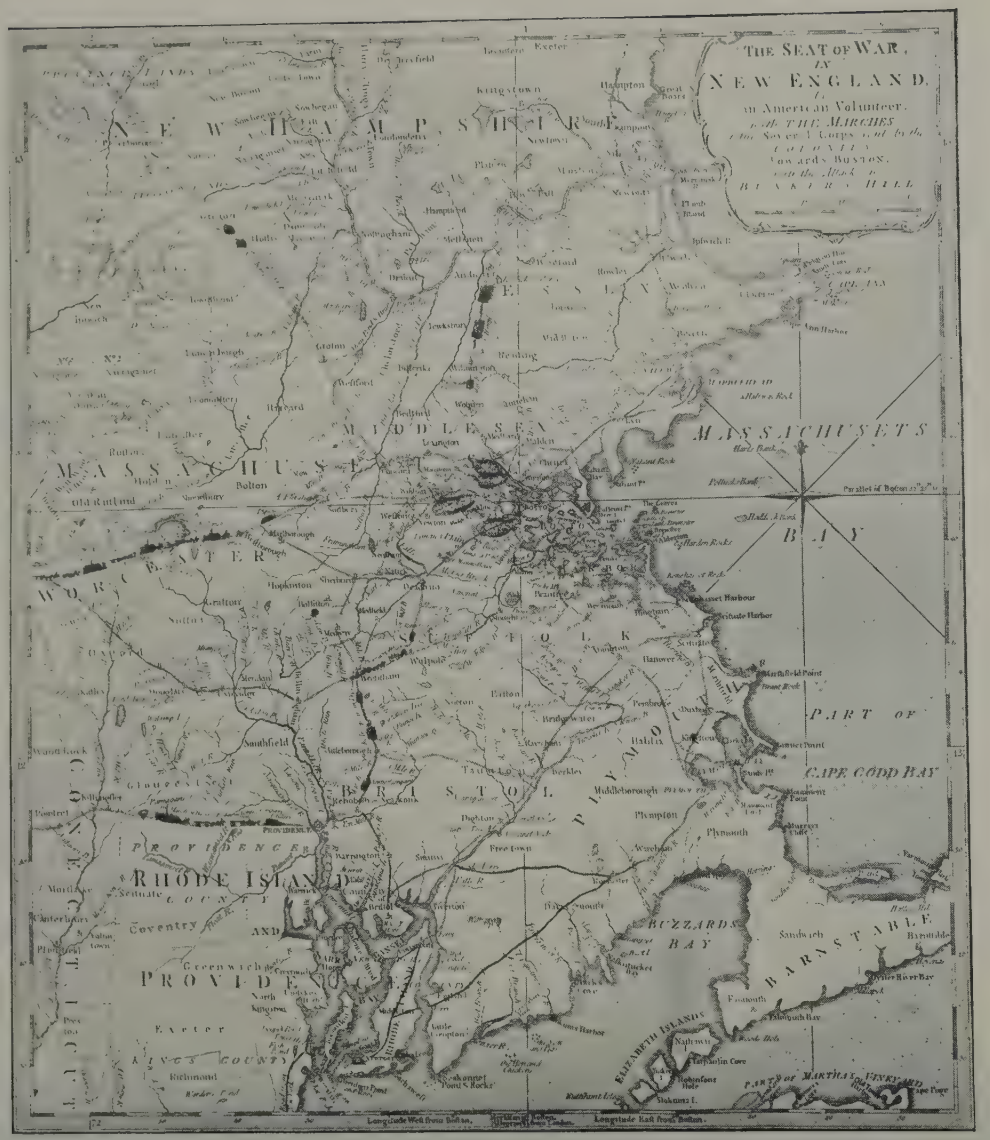
(Macpherson Collection)

A SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND.
(From an Engraving by Carwithan, published about 1750)

(Macpherson Collection)

JONATHAN BELCHER (1681-1757)
(Mezzotint by J. Faber after Phillips)

For many years a member of the Council of Massachusetts and later Governor of New Jersey, Belcher was Vice-Admiral for civil purposes, an office which carried with it the power of Admiralty jurisdiction.



(*Macpherson Collection*)

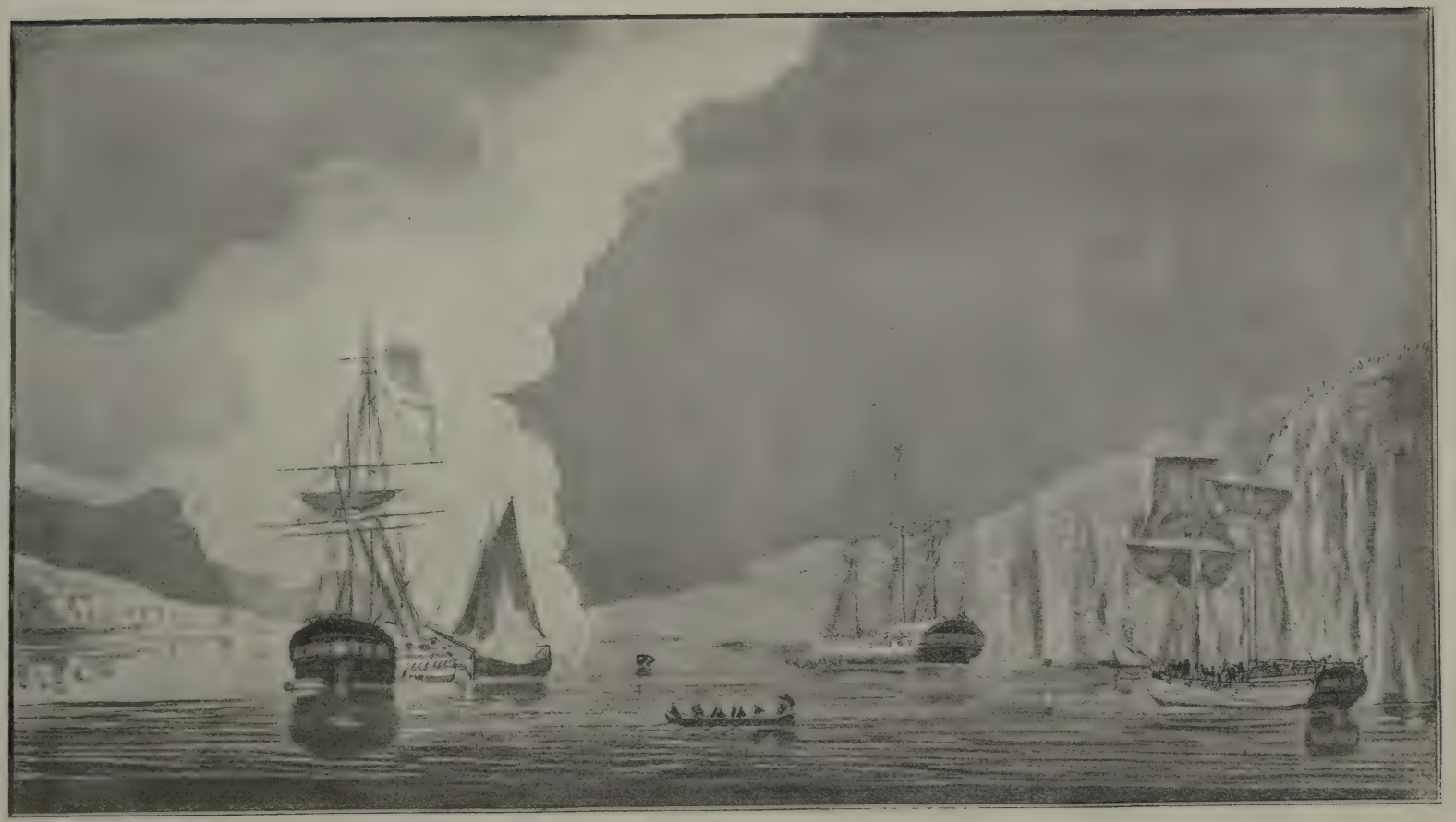
CONTEMPORARY MAPS OF THE SEAT OF WAR IN NEW ENGLAND, 1775

(From Engravings published in 1775)

(Macpherson Collection)

ENGAGEMENT ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, OCTOBER, 1776
(From an Engraving published in December, 1776)

Largely under-rated campaign, with inferior material, the action on Lake Champlain was most gallantly contested and had a huge influence on the progress of the war.



(Macpherson Collection)

THE " PHŒNIX " AND " ROSE " ENGAGED BY FIRE -SHIPS, AUGUST 16, 1776
(From a Colour Aquatint after D. Serres, published 1778)

The attack on the British frigates Phœnix *and* Rose *in the Hudson River by American fire-ships forced them to abandon their anchorage and nearly resulted in the destruction of the* Rose.

The Infant Navy of the United States.

From their geographical position and characteristics it is only natural that the minds of the American people should have been turned towards naval affairs at the first opportunity. In fact the first naval action, if it can be so called, occurred before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, when the British schooner *Margaretta* and two sloops were lying off the little port of Machias in Maine. On the 11th of May, 1775, a party of townsmen, led by one Jeremiah O'Brien, determined to seize this vessel and began by attempting to kidnap her captain while at church. He contrived to escape with his schooner but the townsmen seized one of the small sloops which were with him and thirty-five of them, armed with every conceivable weapon, gave chase in her. The captain was not at all sure of his position and was rather doubtful of firing on the attackers for fear of being accused of piracy, with the result that he hesitated too long and the colonists falling on board, captured his ship after a sharp tussle on deck in which there were twenty casualties. With his prize O'Brien put to sea and took a number of other ships among the merchantmen of the coast, after which the town of Falmouth (Maine), now Portland, was bombarded. This was just what was required by the colonists, who persuaded the people to spend the money necessary for the construction of a Navy and accordingly Congress voted thirteen ships, one for each of the colonies, to fly the first American flag, which was a Pine Tree and a Rattlesnake with the device: "Don't tread on me." In the meantime privateers' commissions were issued and several vessels were purchased for conversion as cruisers, the *Alfred* and the *Columbus* ships, the *Andrea Doria, Cabot* and *Providence* brigs, the *Wasp* and *Fly* schooners, and the sloop *Hornet*. Arrangements were made for commissioning officers to take command of these ships and Esek Hopkins was made Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, a rank that was equal to that held by Washington. The *Alfred*, the crack ship of the fleet, was commanded by Dudley Saltonstall, whose descendants are still distinguished figures in the American Navy, and had one Paul Jones as lieutenant. It was this Paul Jones who first hoisted the American flag and who was later to become a very big figure in naval history. At the same time it was determined to raise two battalions of marines.

All these small ships were converted merchantment, but they sailed as a squadron for the purpose of taking the force under the command of Lord Dunmore, which was holding up the Colonial commerce of the coast. They did not find him but received word that a large quantity of military stores was being landed in the Bahamas with only a feeble garrison to guard it. Military stores were what the Revolutionists wanted most, and with a dashing and well-conducted attack they contrived to capture them all, including some ninety cannon. The Americans, however, were not long in finding out that they could do very little with their small force against the British squadron and therefore very wisely decided to rely on privateers who could do infinitely more damage to the British by attacking their commerce and at the same

time cost very much less. In the success of their land force the American Navy was very largely forgotten.

John Paul Jones, 1747-1792.

There was one man in their force, however, who had no idea of letting the flag that he had hoisted be hauled down, and that was John Paul Jones. There has been infinite discussion concerning his character and it is to be feared that often enough the issue has been deliberately confused. He was originally a Scotsman named John Paul, born in 1747 in Kirkcudbrightshire, the son of a gardener. He was apprenticed to a Whitehaven shipmaster at the age of twelve, by seventeen he was second mate, and next year chief mate. Soon after he was out of his time he contrived to purchase an interest in a ship and undertook two slaving voyages before he sold out. Later he decided to settle in America and took the additional surname of Jones in compliment to a planter who had befriended him. About this period there were numerous scandals concerning him, most of which he seems to have satisfactorily scotched, and after all his ethics in charge of a plantation have little to do with his virtues as a seaman. After serving as lieutenant of the *Alfred* he was appointed to the command of the *Providence* with which he contrived to take a number of prizes off the American coast, some of which he burned and some of which he took into port. When a new list of officers was made by Congress he was commissioned Captain and made numerous suggestions for improving the efficiency of the American Navy and also for attacking British trade both on the American coast and in Africa. In 1777 he was ordered to Boston to select a ship that suited his purpose and to fit it out, but he could not find anything suitable and accordingly was sent to France to see what he could do there. The *Hampshire* was by then re-christened *Ranger* and he took her to Nantes, capturing numerous prizes on the way. Then followed, in the first part of 1778, a most extraordinarily audacious cruise in British waters, during which he took numerous prizes and actually raided the Scottish coast. He was disappointed in the help that he had hoped from the French but after many months of delay he was given, in February, 1779, the worn-out French Indiaman *Duras*, which he re-named *Bon Homme Richard* in compliment to Benjamin Franklyn who had recently published his famous " Poor Richard." She was a poor enough ship in all conscience, but she was the best that he could get and accordingly he sailed with the support of a French squadron commanded by Captain Landais in the *Alliance*, who afterwards proved to be far more embarrassment than help. With this squadron he captured a number of British ships and caused the greatest consternation on the coast, several towns, including Liverpool, being put into a state of defence and being far more apprehensive of this rover with his fleet of worn-out crocks than they had been of the whole might of the French Navy.

The "Serapis" and the "Bon Homme Richard."

Although it was a signal reverse for British arms the action between the *Bon Homme Richard* and H.M.S. *Serapis* on the 23rd of September, 1779, was such an extraordinary single-ship duel that it is worthy of special mention out of its place. The *Serapis* was a 50-gun ship, and with the 22-gun sloop *Countess of Scarborough* was convoying a fleet of merchantmen off Flamborough when she fell in with the *Bon Homme Richard*, which by that time was so rotten that she could only be kept afloat by frapping her hull round and round with cables. The *Pallas* which was cruising in company with Jones fought the little *Countess of Scarborough* to a standstill and in the meantime the *Bon Homme Richard* tackled the *Serapis*. Landais in the *Alliance* was present, but as he only fired a few broadsides and the majority of those into Paul Jones's ship instead of into the British, he may be disregarded. At the very beginning of the action several of the worm-eaten guns with which the American ship was armed burst, doing considerable damage to her people, and she seemed to be in very poor plight. Small wonder that the captain of the *Serapis* hailed to asked if he surrendered, but Jones, knowing that he was regarded by many as a pirate and fighting with the valour of desperation, replied: "Surrender be damned, I have not yet begun to fight." Lashing the ships together the action continued muzzle to muzzle, with the superior gunnery of the English ship rapidly riddling the *Bon Homme Richard* and causing her to leak like a sieve. One of the marines in the American ship climbed out on to the yardarm and, while over the deck of his enemy, dropped hand grenades into the hatch of the *Serapis*. By pure luck the first happened to ignite a pile of cartridges, the explosion of which set the ship on fire. Meanwhile marines in the tops had sent below practically every man on the British ship's deck except Captain Pearson, who was forced to surrender. He had put up a gallant defence and while a price of ten thousand guineas was put on Paul Jones's head he was knighted, causing the American to remark grimly that if he had the chance of meeting him again he would certainly get him a peerage. The *Bon Homme Richard* foundered immediately after the fight and Jones returned to France in his prize.

The American Privateers.

While this was going on in European waters the Americans were fitting out a large number of ships for privateering, a form of naval warfare which appealed to their characteristics very strongly. Speed had always been a feature of Colonial-built craft, possibly because so much of their trade with the West Indies was branded as contraband, and they were excellently well fitted for the work that they undertook. The British fleet having been allowed by the Government in London to get into such a disgracefully low condition, it had not the least chance of defending its store-ships and commerce, with the result that the privateers, whose dashing gallantry was only equalled by their skill, snapped up numerous prizes. Occasionally these free lances were an embarrassment to Washington and his advisers, but generally speaking

they more than fulfilled their purpose and supplied the unavoidable deficiences of the American Navy.

Burgoyne's Surrender, 1777.

Although it was a military rather than a naval operation, the surrender of General Burgoyne in October, 1777, had such immense bearing on the history of the sea, probably greater than any other land operation in history, that it has to be mentioned. Howe's mistake in undertaking his expedition to the Chesapeake was one of the direct causes of the disaster which echoed round the world. It was far more than the surrender of a few thousand soldiers, for it was a signal success which, cleverly devised by the Americans, made such a huge impression in France that it caused her to throw in her lot with the revolting States and in due course brought practically every naval power in the world into the struggle. British communications with America, and in fact the whole of the British campaign, depended entirely on sea power and even during the progress of the struggle the authorities at home had not rectified their mistakes of the last few years. The result was that when a well-equipped naval power like France came into the war the plight of the British force was a very serious one and nothing that was done in the slipshod last-moment method of the period could put things right. Throughout the whole campaign the London Government had been over-confident and the numerous small successes that had been gained by the enemy on account of this had been used to the utmost for the purposes of propaganda. A big fleet under Vice-Admiral Byron was ordered to the assistance of Howe, but many weeks were wasted owing to the hopeless incapacity, or worse, of the Admiralty. Finally it sailed, but bad weather scattered the convoy and the Admiral himself decided to make for Halifax instead of attempting to carry out the real purpose of his voyage. His delay would have caused anybody but Howe to be crushed by the enemy, for the French had sent out a big fleet under Admiral D'Estaing, and in the summer of 1778 it was only Howe's peculiar mixture of daring and celerity of motion that saved New York and—for the time being—the British cause.

The Saucy "Arethusa."

One of the best known of the nautical ballads of this period is "The Saucy Arethusa" which, while it gives a very poor idea of the effects of her action with the French frigate *Belle Poule*, certainly shows the impression that the fight made at the time. The French had not yet thrown in their lot with the Americans but there was little doubt that they intended to do so. Admiral Keppel was at sea with a British fleet and Admiral D'Estaing with a French. Relations were very strained when, on the 17th of June, 1778, Keppel's frigates sighted two French ships. Keppel gave orders for these frigates to be hailed. One of them answered civilly enough but when the 32-gun *Arethusa*, herself a captured French ship, came alongside the French 36-gun *Belle Poule*, the crack frigate of the French Navy, the answer that he got was the reverse of courteous. In a matter of minutes the two ships were at it

PAUL JONES thooting a SAILOR who had attempted to ſtrike his COLOURS in an Engagement.
From the Original Picture by John Collet, in the poſſeſſion of Carington Bowles.
Printed for & Sold by CARINGTON BOWLES, at his Map & Print Warehouſe N° 69 in St Pauls church Yard LONDON

(Macpherson Collection)

PAUL JONES SHOOTING A SAILOR
(From a Mezzotint in Colours
after a Painting by John Collet)

(Macpherson Collection)

JOHN PAUL JONES

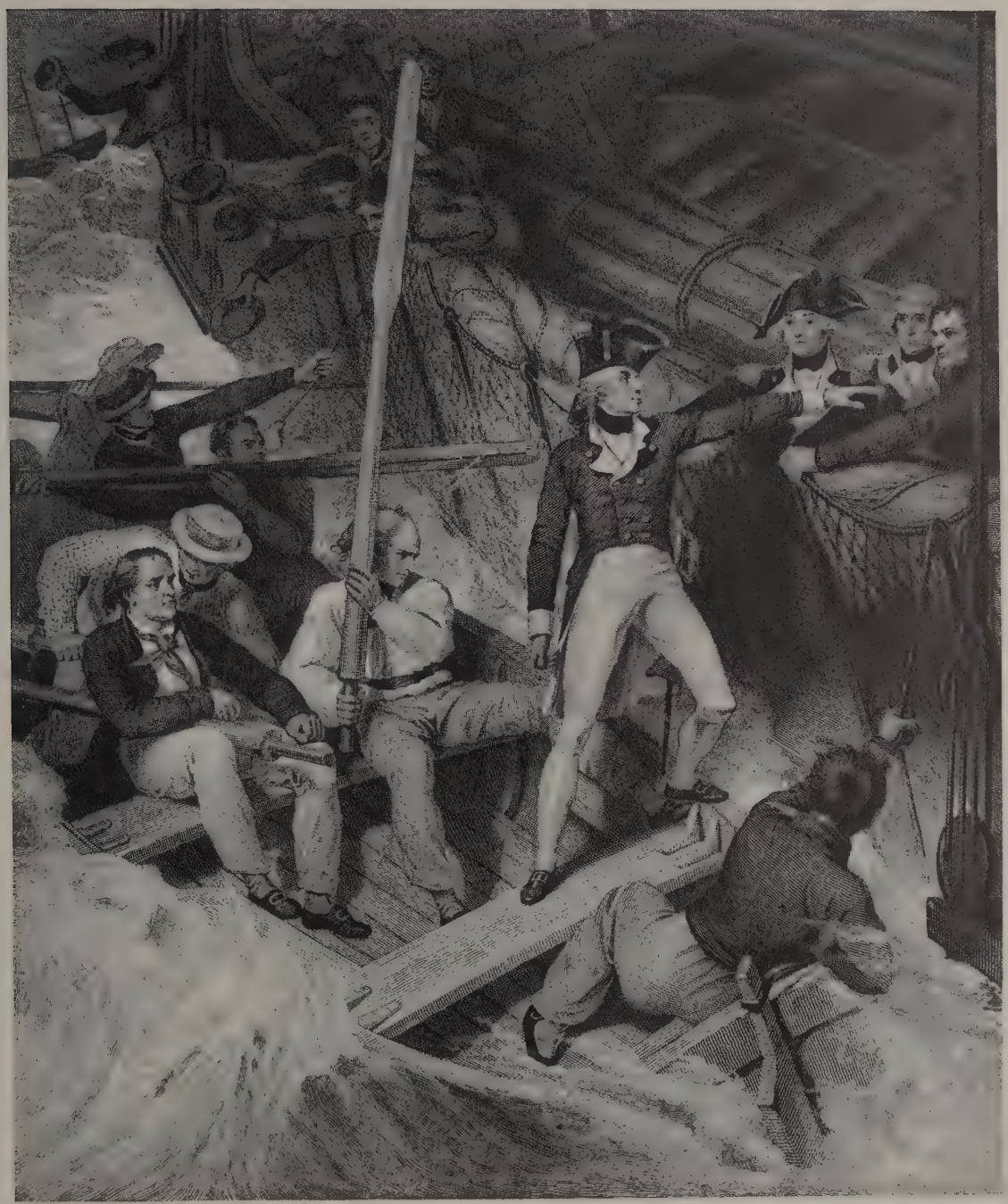
The appearance of John Paul Jones is portrayed by his contemporaries as variously as his character, this mezzotint portrait bearing but little resemblance to the famous Houdin bust.

(Macpherson Collection)

ADMIRAL SIR HYDE PARKER

(Mezzotint Engraving by Townley, after a Painting by G. Romney)

Belonging to a famous naval family, Admiral Parker was, as his portrait suggests, a hard fighting Admiral without any pretence to great gifts.



LIEUTENANT NELSON VOLUNTEERING TO BOARD A PRIZE IN A VIOLENT GALE, NOVEMBER 20, 1777
(Engraving, after R. Westall, R.A.)

The famous artist's idea of boatwork is perhaps open to criticism, but the picture is a popular tribute to Nelson's seamanship.

(Macpherson Collection.

H.M.S. "QUEBEC" AND THE FRENCH "SURVEILLANTE," 1779

At the end of one of the most gallantly contested frigate actions in the history of the sea, the "Quebec" blew up with a large part of her crew. The survivors were most humanely treated by their captors and immediately released.

THE "QUEBEC" ON FIRE AFTER
FIGHTING THE "SURVEILLANTE"
(From a Print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

ENGAGEMENT OFF THE DOGGER BANK, AUGUST, 1781

Although it was fought at a time when tactics had begun to be studied, the Dogger Bank action between the English and the Dutch was fought hammer-and-tongs as suited the taste of both parties.

(From a print lent by Messrs. T H. Parker)

THE DEATH OF LORD ROBERT MANNERS, ON BOARD H.M.S. "RESOLUTION," APRIL, 1782
(Engraving by Sherwin after Stothard)

Promoted for political purposes, Lord Robert Manners justified Rodney's choice and distinguished himself time and again in the West Indies. In the action off Dominica on the 12th April, 1782, he was several times wounded and had to have a leg amputated, dying soon afterwards in the midst of what was a most promising career.

(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

(Macpherson Collection)

LORD ROBERT MANNERS
(Proof Mezzotint by W. Dickinson after Sir Joshua Reynolds)

(Macpherson Collection)

ADMIRAL DE SUFFREN

By his campaign against Hughes in the East Indies, ill supported as he was by his subordinates, the French Admiral Suffren proved himself to be one of the most capable commanders of his day and with opportunity would have gone far.

hammer and tongs. The odds were heavily with the Frenchman, for she was a 36-gun ship of 902 tons with 230 men, while the *Arethusa* was a 32-gun ship of 700 tons with 198 men. The action took place close to the French coast and after four hours' fierce hammering the *Belle Poule* sheered off with very heavy casualties. The *Arethusa* tried to follow but she was far too damaged to make sail, although she had lost far fewer men than her enemy. Both sides claimed a victory which was tremendously popular with their people, whereas as a matter of fact the action can only be described as indecisive and marked by the greatest gallantry on both sides.

The Action off Ushant, 1778.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet at this time was the Hon. Augustus Keppel who had been with Anson round the world and had a fine reputation as a seaman. It was he of whom the story is told that as a young man he was sent to interview the Bey of Algiers, who sneered at the "beardless boy." Thoroughly nettled Keppel replied that had King George known that the Bey measured wisdom by length of beard he would certainly have sent a he-goat to interview him. After making a fine name for himself at sea he was appointed to the Admiralty and mixed up in politics to a very unpleasant extent. When he went to sea again there was a good deal of political feeling in the appointment, for his ships were old and rotten and hopelessly inadequate for the work. On paper his fleet was slightly superior to that of the French Admiral D'Orvilliers against whom he was pitted but actually he was far inferior when they met off Ushant on July the 27th, 1778. The action was an unsatisfactory one and both claimed the victory. The French Admiral had been ordered to avoid action and to preserve his fleet, with the result that it suited his purpose to break off the action without fear of pursuit to continue the operations on which they were engaged. Keppel's subordinate, Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, who was his bitter political enemy, brought about a series of courts-martial in which Keppel was cleared and Palliser censured, a verdict which was very welcome to the mob who wrecked the unfortunate Admiral's house and very nearly killed him. Keppel was a gallant man, a hard fighter and a sound officer, but he was not by any means the Nelson that some of his partisans tried to establish.

Kempenfeldt.

An officer of very different calibre was his contemporary, Richard Kempenfeldt. Born in 1718 of Swedish blood, he distinguished himself under Vernon at Porto Bello and did very good work in the East. In an age of hard fighters he was undoubtedly the most scientific, and his works on naval warfare have survived and are read to-day. He realised that the scientific methods of the French were giving them an advantage over the hammer-and-tongs policy of the English Admirals which they had carried down from the Dutch Wars and therefore he determined to meet them with similar science. The first thing he felt to be necessary was a thorough revision of the signal book, which up to then had been

very unsatisfactory and, as was shown in Mathew's disastrous action off Toulon, hopelessly inadequate to convey the orders of a Commander-in-Chief. He therefore evolved a numerical code, rudimentary it is true, but leading directly to the elaborate signal books of to-day. It is a great pity that such a man had no chance of commanding a big fleet and putting his theories into practice. He did exceedingly well in all the minor actions that he undertook, but his untimely death in the *Royal George*, which will be recorded later, prevented his ever being a Commander-in-Chief.

The West Indian Campaign.

In coming to the assistance of the United States, France had definitely stated that she would not establish herself on the Continent but would content herself with any islands south of Bermuda that she was able to capture. This brought the seat of war into the West Indies. In September, 1778, Dominica was captured, the English having put up formidable works there and neglected to provide them with a sufficient garrison. This gave the French a line of islands which was ideal for the purposes of their corsairs and privateers, whose exploits cost commerce very heavy losses. Admiral Barrington was reinforced by Admiral Hotham and established himself on a corner of the island of St. Lucia. While providing for his transports Admiral D'Estaing arrived but Barrington was able to beat off the attack. The French landed a considerable army, but the English held their own on shore and finally succeeded in taking the whole island, which was to prove an exceedingly useful naval base. Admiral Byron was not so lucky off Grenada next year. The French fleet under D'Estaing was attacking the island of Grenada when Byron, who was an impetuous officer of the old school, arrived to the rescue. It would appear that he considered that he had the French at a disadvantage and attacked impetuously, only to find that they brought their ships into order in a surprising manner and gave him a warm reception. Following their usual policy of aiming high the French soon had several British ships hopelessly crippled and it is entirely due to D'Estaing's lack of skill that they did not capture at least four. The French had twenty-five ships to the British twenty-one, but the real point is that Byron attacked without any order, whereas the French handled their ships magnificently. It was the old school against the new.

Howe and D'Estaing.

Meanwhile Howe was still trying to do his best in American waters and not having any too good a time of it. His fleet had been made up with the sole idea of suppressing a revolt and unfortunately the administration at home had done little to improve it, so that the powerful French squadrons could be met. The result was that when D'Estaing arrived in North American waters Howe was hopelessly out-matched and had to handle his ships very carefully indeed. He made the most of his force to defend New York but on this occasion was helped by a very big slice of luck, D'Estaing having been misled by his pilot into

thinking that there was no more than twenty-two feet of water in the approach channel, although as a matter of fact at Spring tides there was thirty over the bar, and he could have attacked in perfect safety. Had he done so he would probably have wiped out Howe's small squadron.

Spain Enters the Struggle.

In June, 1779, Spain entered the war against Britain, not because she was particularly in sympathy with the Americans—in fact she saw in their independence a grave risk to her own colonial empire, which was run on the narrowest possible lines—but because she saw in a war with England, who was obviously very hard pressed, a chance of regaining Gibraltar and Minorca, which was an object very dear to her heart. To begin with, there was a typically Spanish delay in getting her fleet into touch with the French, and when this was finally accomplished we had the worst possible example of the traditional confusion of an alliance. The British Channel Fleet consisted of forty ships, against which the French put thirty and the Spaniards another thirty-six, so that the British were very hard pressed and it is small wonder that the constant fear of invasion caused something like a panic all through the Southern counties. Extreme measures for the evacuation of the seaboard were at once taken and the regulations to this effect naturally added to the fear of the people. Really the country was saved from invasion by the vacillation of French policy, but at the same time the British administration learned no lesson, and even when things were at their worst and it was obvious that every possible measure had to be taken the Government was unprepared, especially as regards the naval side.

Siege of Gibraltar, 1779-1783.

The first thing to be done by the Spaniards was to attack Gibraltar, whose retention in English hands was a very sad blow to their national pride. At that time the Mediterranean squadron only consisted of four ships and was certainly in no condition to offer any relief to the fortress when it was besieged by land and blockaded by fifteen Spanish men-of-war at sea. This was in the beginning of 1779, and soon provisions on the Rock began to rise to famine prices. On his way out to the West Indies Admiral Rodney was ordered to reinforce the garrison and to throw in much-needed supplies. He was able to do this in a manner that suited his personality down to the ground, for on the way down he sighted twenty-two sail off Finisterre. He immediately ordered a general chase and took them all in a very short time, finding that the majority of them were merchant ships laden with provisions and naval supplies for the Spanish fleet. He then heard that there was a Spanish force off Cape St. Vincent and on the 16th of January, 1780, he came upon eleven line-of-battleships and two frigates. After rather more than twelve hours' fighting four escaped, one was blown up, two drove ashore and were lost after they had struck, and the remainder were captured. He then proceeded in triumph to Gibraltar, revictualled it with captured Spanish supplies and proceeded on his way to the West

Indies, having gained a success which afforded much-needed relief not only to the garrison but also to the Admiralty, which was by then coming in for very bitter criticism from the public at home and needed a success of this sort to restore its prestige. It is getting a little ahead of our story to record the relief which occurred in 1781, when the garrison of Gibraltar was very hard pressed but was still holding out gallantly. The Spaniards had employed every possible means to reduce them but they still survived, to the astonishment of every power in Christendom. In the Spring of 1781 Vice-Admiral George Darby was sent out from England with a huge supply convoy and a powerful squadron. The Spaniards appear to have been overawed by the force, for the Cadiz fleet made no effort to intercept it and the Rock was relieved on the 12th of April, 1781, the Spaniards opening a colossal fire which proved insufficient to prevent the landing of the stores. The siege then recommenced, much to the disappointment of the more faint-hearted of the garrison, who became mutinous and had to be dealt with appropriately by General Sir George Elliot who was in command. Determined not to be thwarted a second time the Spaniards closed round the fortress and in consequence lost a number of their gun-boats from the red-hot shot which had been prepared by the garrison and which proved to be the only method of countering the ships which the besiegers had specially prepared and armoured with many feet of timber. Howe afforded further relief in 1782. Finally the siege came to an end with the peace of 1783, after one of the most conspicuously gallant and successful defences in the whole history of war.

Britain's Enemies Increased.

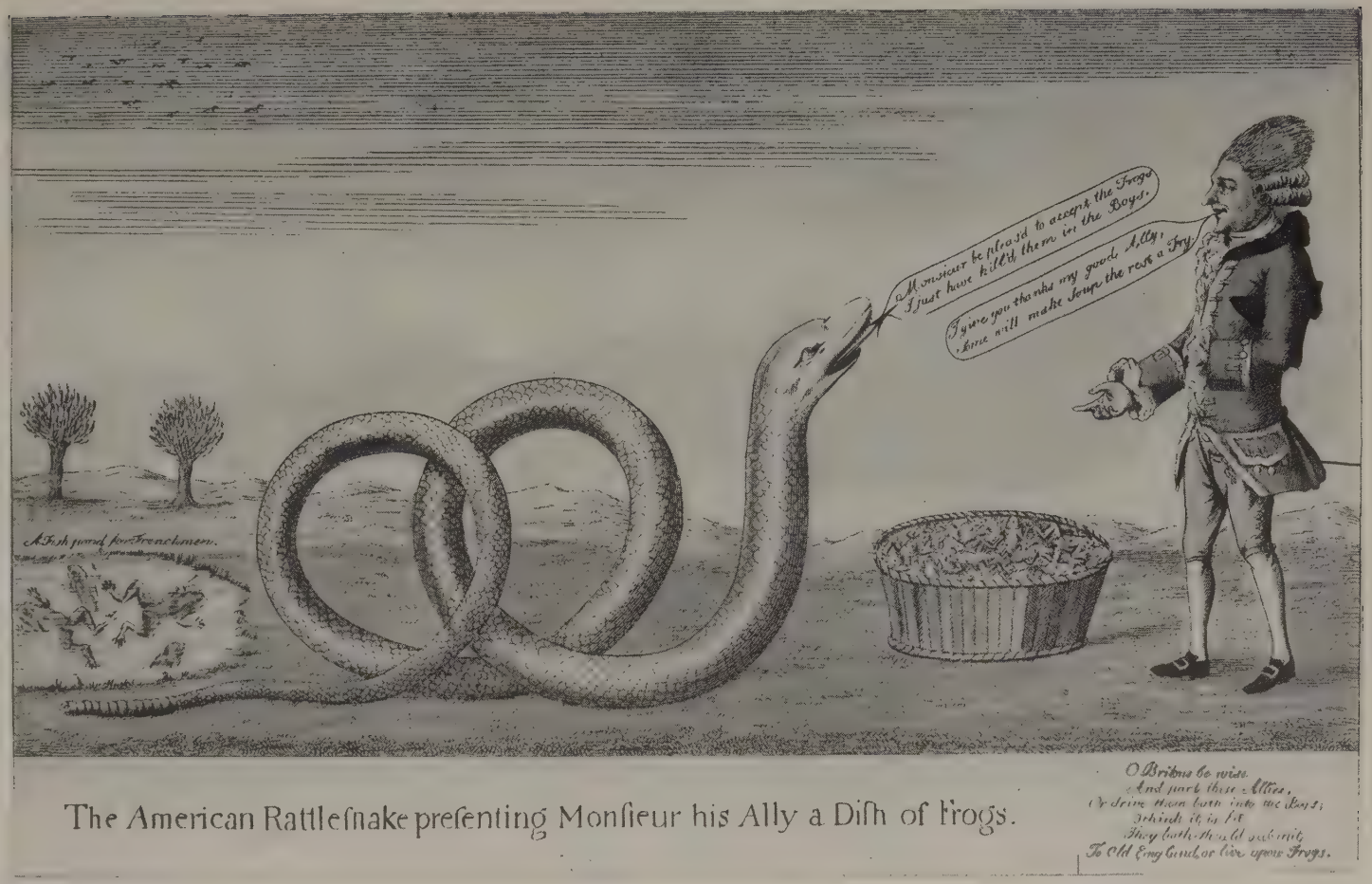
This naval struggle between England and the Southern Continental powers naturally caused the greatest inconvenience and loss to the maritime states of the North of Europe. Added to this was the fact that Russia was ambitious and desired to annex the Crimea to expand her dominions. She was thus brought into the dissatisfaction of the Northern States and thereafter was the moving spirit in the formation of the " Armed Neutrality of the North " in 1780, into which were drawn all the Baltic powers. Later in the year Holland joined the Confederacy and England declared war on her in December of that year, giving orders that Dutch possessions and ships were to be seized both in the East and the West Indies.

The Battle of the Dogger Bank, 1781.

The actions between the English and the Dutch had always been of the same character—clean hammer-and-tongs actions in which the great desire of each party was to find a head and hit it hard without any regard for tactics or scientific methods. This was the way in the Commonwealth and Restoration days, and it was just the same in 1781 when Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker convoyed a large number of merchant ships and met a fleet under the Dutch Rear-Admiral Johan Arnold Zoutman on similar duty. Hyde Parker was a gallant seaman of the old school. The two fleets hammered one another to a standstill and

(Macpherson Collection)

THE "BON HOMME RICHARD" IN ACTION WITH THE "SERAPIS"


Monsieur be pleas'd to accept the Frogs
I just have kill'd them in the Boys.
I give you thanks my good Ally,
Some will make Soup the rest a Fry.
A Fish pursud by Frenchmen.
O Britons be wise
And part these Allies,
Or drive them both into the Seas;
Behind it is Fit
They both shou'd suffer
To Old Eng Land or Live upon Frogs.

The American Rattlesnake presenting Monsieur his Ally a Dish of Frogs.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE FRANCO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

The original American standard, a rattlesnake with the words "Don't tread on me," supplies the motif for this contemporary British caricature.

(Macpherson Collection)

SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN, 1781

This contemporary French version of the surrender differs very radically from the accepted history, the event being apparently portrayed in this manner in order to bring in the French Fleet

(Macpherson Collection)

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON

(Mezzotint by Valentine Green after Painting by J. Trumbull of Connecticut, 1780)

Washington was forced to abandon his naval schemes and to concentrate on land operations by the lack of funds of the infant Republic.

(Macpherson Collection)

RODNEY'S VICTORY NEAR CAPE ST. VINCENT, JANUARY, 1780
(Mezzotint by R. Lawrie after R. Dodd)

The defeat of the Spanish Fleet permitted Rodney to revictual Gibraltar and then proceed with his force to the West Indies.

then separated mutually worn-out, but Admiral Parker was very dissatisfied with the result and attributed his failure to the fact that the Admiralty had provided him with poor worn-out ships. He refused to accept any reward and resigned his command, but when the Ministry changed he was sent out to the East Indies in H.M.S. *Cato* which disappeared at sea. To his men Parker's austere character procured him the nick-name of "Old Vinegar," but at heart he seems to have possessed a very different character and his history shows the evils which politics had wrought in the fleet.

Graves in the Chesapeake.

Meanwhile disaster was following disaster in the North American theatre. It has already been shown how much the British depended on sea communications, which were finally cut by the action between Graves and De Grasse in September, 1781. Although his fleet was inferior Graves attacked but did it so clumsily that seven of his rear ships never came into action. He planned to renew the battle next day but the ships of his van were by that time too crippled aloft to follow the French, who made sail into Chesapeake Bay. Hood advised Graves to do the same but there was a lot of delay in making any decision and by that time the French had established themselves in position. Graves therefore returned to New York and the surrender of Cornwallis with its disastrous consequences was the result.

Rodney to the West Indies.

The dissipation of the British force caused by useless expeditions to the Southern United States and other ventures had brought things to rather a bad pass in Northern America so that when Rodney was sent to the West Indies, supplying Gibraltar on the way out as has already been described, the outlook was very bad. The British campaign depended wholly on naval co-operation and this co-operation was endangered by the presence of the French Fleet in considerable force, while things became worse by the British being compelled to abandon Narragansett Bay, which was the best naval base on the coast. Even that did not teach them to concentrate their forces on one definite campaign, with the result that a similar dispersion by Lord Cornwallis ashore and by Clinton in another direction eventually led to the surrender of the British Army at Yorktown and the complete independence of the United States. This did not put an end to the war by any means, however, for by then it had attained a wider significance and all Europe was interested.

Rodney and De Guichen.

As his rival in the West Indies Rodney had the French Admiral De Guichen, a very able commander who had a considerable force at his disposal. The West Indies Station at that time was not a healthy one, and it soon became evident that Rodney had to contend with a slackness and even an active ill-will which threatened to wreck his plans. Although he was by way of being a student of the French school and Kempenfeldt's, he realised in his first battle off Martinique in April,

1780, that direct attack was the only possible principle, even though the French were slightly superior. The action which followed was sharp but indecisive and the French eventually managed to get away, with a big butcher's bill it is true but still mobile, after Rodney had broken their line. This manœuvre caused a good deal of comment at the time but it rather looks as though it were purely accidental on this occasion. The Admiral regarded it as an occasion of hopelessly lost opportunities and it is to be feared vented his spleen on his subordinates in a manner which caused a lot of trouble later on. After the action De Grasse carried on a campaign in West Indian waters which had considerable bearing on the progress of events but which was not conspicuous for interesting actions. Later in the year 1780 the British position in the Caribbean was further imperilled by an allied Franco-Spanish fleet capturing a big convoy off St. Vincent which was intended to supply the British positions in the West Indies. The general opinion was that this disaster was entirely due to the negligence of the Admiralty who made a scapegoat of the commander of the convoy.

Hood at St. Kitts.

Towards the end of 1781 the French sent important reinforcements to De Grasse, the whole being put under the command of De Guichen until it was clear of possibilities of attack in home waters. In December this big convoy was intercepted by Rear-Admiral Richard Kempenfeldt, who had been sent out specially to meet it. For a man of his capability and gallantry De Guichen had made an extraordinary mistake in keeping his fleet to leeward and ahead of his convoy. Kempenfeldt came down with the wind and while the French men-of-war were held helpless, captured fifteen valuable prizes, heavily laden with naval and military stores. He was off again with his prizes before the French squadron could come into action, and a few days later a storm completed his work, so that only two line-of-battle ships and five transports were able to continue their voyage. Meanwhile he had sent warning to Hood in the West Indies by a fire-ship under the command of James Saumarez, who found the Admiral at St. Kitts and warned him of the attack that he might expect. De Guichen was forced by circumstances to abandon his plan to capture Barbados and his fleet turned on St. Kitts instead. There was only a small garrison there, which retired to a strong position named Brimstone Hill, and Hood immediately prepared his fleet for their relief. Both Hood and the French Admiral were fine seamen but the former proved himself the better, got into a position from which he could not be turned and then, taking off the small garrison on Brimstone Hill, he slipped away to sea at night by cutting his cables and leaving riding lights on their buoys, the French being astounded to find the empty anchorage in the morning when they had hoped to crush their inferior enemy.

The Battle of the Saints.

Hood and Rodney joined forces in February, 1782, and the rival fleets were again something like equal. Foiled of Barbados, it was under-

stood that De Grasse intended to conquer Jamaica, but Kempenfeldt's raid on his convoy had rendered this impossible and put him into a very awkward position. His transports needed protection and at the same time he had to think of the safety of a big convoy of French merchantmen homeward bound. So large and unwieldy was his charge that he determined to keep as close as possible to friendly ports which would afford them a refuge in case of attack, but as soon as his fleet moved it was reported to Rodney who followed at once and soon got into touch. Hood had the van division, which was greatly inferior to that of De Grasse, and had the French Admiral made a determined attempt to crush it he would probably have done so. Instead of which a half-hearted engagement at long distance ensued which was resumed in greater force next day. An apparently minor mistake in seamanship made by De Grasse in the early morning cost him dear, and by the middle of the day his fleet was obviously beaten. Rodney attacked magnificently but he was very much criticised for his slackness in pursuit, especially by Hood, and the result was that only five prizes fell to the English instead of the whole fleet as appeared probable. These prizes included De Grasse's flagship the *Ville de Paris*, a ship mounting 110 guns and regarded as the finest man-of-war in the world. The victory relieved the situation in the West Indies but none of the five prizes survived to reach England, three of them foundering in one gale. Rodney and Hood both received peerages for this victory.

Politics in the Navy.

By this time the canker of politics was doing infinite harm to the Royal Navy just as it had wrecked the Dutch in the previous century. The case of Keppel and Palliser has already been mentioned, while Rodney's censure of his subordinates in 1780 was made a political issue. Admiral Barrington was offered the command of the Grand Fleet at about the same time, but he politely intimated that he did not trust his own undoubted abilities for such an important command, although it was an open secret that his real distrust was for the Admiralty from whom he expected any trick in the political game. These are only isolated instances of what was going on all the time all through the fleet, and there is no doubt that it prevented many a British success and brought about many a disaster.

Rodney, 1719-1792.

George Brydges Rodney, afterwards to be Lord Rodney, was born in 1719 and entered the Navy as a youngster. As a Post-Captain he did useful work but it was not until he started operations in the West Indies that he was really distinguished. He made large sums with prize money but he wasted it all with his extravagant tastes and gambling, so that when he was unemployed he had to flee to France to be out of reach of his creditors. When France came into the War of American Independence he returned, but for political reasons Lord Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty, kept him out of an appointment as long as he possibly could. An outline of his work in the West Indies has already

been given, and it must be remembered that this was done when he was already an old man and in broken health. With his peerage he received a pension of £2,000 a year for life, but even this could not keep him out of financial trouble and he died in 1792 embarrassed by debts.

The Final Loss of Minorca.

Spain had come into the war principally for the purpose of regaining Gibraltar and Minorca. In the former task she had been foiled by the gallant defence of General Elliot but she contrived to regain the island in the spring of 1782. The French Fleet under De Guichen assisted the Spanish under De Cordova and the combined operations caused an unhappy division among the allies. The siege, however, was maintained for six months and ended in the British capitulation.

The Return of Howe.

Released from the North American service that was so distasteful to him, Lord Howe for a time was retired, but in 1782 a change of ministry put him into command of the Channel Fleet with his flag in the *Victory*. His first action was to make a demonstration on the coast of Holland which kept the Dutch quiet for a time and then to carry out a series of striking operations in the Channel. He then collected his fleet together for the relief of Gibraltar. He got his supplies into the town and fought an indecisive action off Cape Spartel before returning to Spithead. This campaign earned the generous praise of Captain Chevalier, one of the soundest of the French naval writers, who is always willing to pay tribute to virtue on the side of his enemies.

The Loss of the "Royal George."

It was while preparing for this expedition that the *Royal George* was lost at Spithead on the 29th of August, 1782. She was a 100-gun ship which was acting as flagship to Rear-Admiral Kempenfeldt and had a magnificent war history. The poet Cowper was travelling on the Continent at the time and acting on the very incomplete and erroneous information that he had received he wrote the celebrated "Toll for the Brave" which everybody knows. The Admiralty was only too glad to have this explanation accepted and the poem received a wide circulation, telling how the ship was careened and capsized by a land breeze. As a matter of fact nothing of the sort happened; she was inclined scarcely at all and was quite comfortable head to wind. But she had been allowed to get so rotten by the criminal negligence of the Admiralty that a huge section of the bottom of the ship fell out bodily and she sank like a stone, taking nearly a thousand lives with her. The true facts came out at the Court Martial and there is no disputing them, but they were so scandalous that the authorities were only too glad of the opportunity of suppressing them, a deception in which the poet unwittingly assisted.

The War in the East.

While these incidents had been occurring in Europe and in the West the war was being waged in the East. As soon as it was announced

(Macpherson Collection)

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE BRYDGES (AFTERWARDS LORD) RODNEY
(Proof Mezzotint by Valentine Green)

Something of a dandy and an inveterate gambler, Rodney proved himself able to fight hard as well as skilfully, and well deserves his place in naval history.

(Macpherson Collection)

H.M.S. " ALARM " CONDUCTING A SPANISH PRIZE INTO GIBRALTAR
(From an Engraving published in 1781)

At intervals during the famous siege the defenders were cheered by the arrival of prizes.

(Macpherson Collection)

GIBRALTAR, 1782

An ordnance store-ship forcing her way through the Spanish blockade with much-needed fruit for the sick in the garrison.

(Macpherson Collection)

DESTRUCTION OF THE SPANISH BATTERING SHIPS BEFORE GIBRALTAR, 14th SEPTEMBER, 1782

The Spaniards came into the war purely for the purpose of regaining Gibraltar and Malta, and the siege of the former fortress is world-famous. The garrison resorted to the use of red-hot shot for the purpose of beating off the fiercest attack.

(Marlborough Collection)

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE "SANTA CATALINA," 1782.

Specially detailed to look out for the British frigate "Success," under Captain Charles Pole, the Spanish "Santa Catalina" found her in company with H.M.S. "Vernon," and by the time she had been forced to strike she was so badly damaged that Captain Pole decided to burn her on the approach of what he supposed to be an enemy squadron, but which turned out to be British.

(Macpherson Collection)

LORD RODNEY DEFEATING THE COMTE DE GRASSE IN THE WEST INDIES, APRIL 12, 1782
(Engraving by P. Mazell after T. Luny, published October, 1782)

The fighting in the West Indies provided considerable opportunities of naval distinction and some of the most bitterly contested actions in the war

Huzza
Huzza
You have fought me handsomely
I was glad of the Opportunity
Huzza Rodney
DE GRASSE delivering his Sword to the Gallant ADMIRAL RODNEY.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE COUNT DE GRASSE SURRENDERING TO RODNEY.

The crude caricatures of the time showed the effect of Rodney's victory on public opinion in England.

(Macpherson Collection)

H.M.S. " MEDIATOR," 44 GUNS, ATTACKING A FRENCH SQUADRON, 12TH DECEMBER, 1782
(ENGRAVING BY POLLARD AFTER D. SERRES, R.A., 1784)

Under Captain the Hon. John Luttrell, H.M.S. " Mediator " sighted five French and American ships and captured the " Alexandre," " Eugène," and " Menagère," men-of-war armed en flute

that France had entered the struggle the Governor-General at Calcutta immediately made preparations to take Pondicherry, the principal French port on the coast. The sea side of the operation was under Commodore Sir Edward Vernon, and a French Fleet under Commodore Tronjoly attempted to circumvent him. An indecisive action ensued in which the advantage was certainly with the French, as they contrived to get into the port, but soon after the French Fleet returned to Mauritius —then known as the Ile de France—and the blockade was once again tightened until the port capitulated in October, 1778.

Hughes and Suffren.

Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes was sent out to the Indian Ocean early in 1779, but his squadron was not sufficient for his purpose and had it not been that the French at first confined their activities to the waters round the Ile de France things would have gone badly with him. The British already had two wars on their hands and to maintain them had to depend entirely on sea communications, of which fact the French corsairs took full advantage. When Holland came into the war the British immediately determined to capture the Cape of Good Hope and sent out a squadron under Commodore Johnstone. This brought the French Admiral Suffren on to the field, who met the convoy at Porto Praya in the Cape Verde Islands and after a partial battle contrived to put the British force out of action long enough to permit him to secure the Cape before he went on to the Indies. Then began the long series of actions between Suffren and Hughes which extended all over the Indian Ocean. Action after action took place and move and counter-move went on month after month. Both combatants had to work under very considerable disadvantages. Suffren was one of the most remarkably able men of his age but he was very ill-supported, whereas Hughes, who was a good sound all-round sailorman of very considerable experience, could rely on his captains thoroughly. Five fiercely contested actions were fought without any decisive advantage being obtained by either, culminating in the action off Cuddalore in June, 1783. The French were inferior but got the better of the action, which was really fought five months after peace had been arranged.

The Treaty of Versailles, 1783.

The recognition of the independence of the United States had been really acknowledged in England for some time before the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 and the war was going on entirely through countries that had come in afterwards. France and Spain both regarded the claims of the United States as excessive, but there was little difficulty in coming to an agreement with Britain and Franklin who was in charge at Paris found it far more difficult to keep his country on good terms with the French. Holland found herself in the worst position of all at the end of the war into which she had allowed herself to be dragged, for none of her allies were particularly interested in how she fared and the result was that she was forced to grant free trade in the East Indies and to give up a good deal of her territory there. The troubles of Britain

were entirely of her own making and in spite of the fact that she was fighting practically the whole of Europe single-handed she contrived to keep her flag flying in the end. Had politics been kept out of the naval service, had the supreme necessity of a powerful and efficient Navy always been in the minds of the King's ministers, and had these ministers been even ordinarily honest in the discharge of their duties, things might have been very different. The growing British Empire had been deprived of her most promising colony but the war taught a lot and at the end of it the Navy was at last in a tolerably sound condition. The science of war had been studied, and instead of a first-class officer being a rarity there were now any number on the Navy List. Ship design had improved wonderfully and the maintenance of the fleet was being organised on sound lines. There was still a good deal to be done but the Royal Navy had its track clear and was well on the way to its most glorious days during the next quarter of a century.

CHAPTER IV—THE PRIVATEERS

Historical Retrospect.

The beginning of the privateersman in very early days, the manner in which he got round the regulations which were supposed to limit his power, the way in which he flourished under the Tudors and the Stuarts, and the manner in which he all too often degenerated into a mere pirate have already been described in the first volume. As far as the British Navy was concerned, the halcyon days of the privateers were in the eighteenth century, but perhaps as regards the French their greatest period was a little later, although they always took more kindly to it than did the British. In England there were always people who maintained that the privateer was apt to be more trouble than he was worth, and there is no doubt that on many occasions he certainly was. But at the same time the Navy was all too often in no position to do without him.

The Need of the Hour.

One of the occasions on which the British Navy certainly could not do without the privateersman was the struggle against France and Spain which began in the early days of the eighteenth century. Britain had done so well at sea that the authorities had become over-confident and had reduced the Navy to a mere skeleton, both as regards ships and men. When they were wanted in a hurry neither were forthcoming and all the efforts of the Press Gang could not supply the deficiency. Both the French and Spanish did better because they simply gave their privateersmen permission to attack the British and to worry them in every particular while they were getting their fighting navy ready, and before long the British were forced to follow their example. After all it was the very best method of getting men to serve by playing on their pecuniary instinct, for it was little enough use to appeal to patriotism when the treatment in the fleet was as bad as it was and when there was so much jobbery about. If a man was fitting out his own ship he knew perfectly well that good workmanship was being put into her and that he was getting value for his money, but the taxes that went to maintain the King's ships carried with their receipt no such assurance, which was perhaps the reason that they were even more unpopular than usual. The seamen much preferred privateering to serving in men-of-war. For one thing the discipline was not so strict. For another they were paid on the nail, both as regards wages and prize money, and also they shared a very much larger proportion of the latter than they did in the King's service. One of the most popular features of the service was that it was supposed to carry with it immunity from the attentions of the Press Gang but this was not always the case.

A British Privateer's Crew.

Mr. Gomer Williams, who certainly knows more about the history of privateers than most men, has dug up a typical quarter bill of a privateer mounting twenty nine-pounders and four three-pounders, which was a tolerably powerfully armed ship in the middle of the eighteenth century. This quarter bill, as showing the difficulties with

which the privateers had to contend in the matter of men, is reproduced in extenso, and shows how elaborately they planned out their crews in spite of the inevitable shortage.

ON THE QUARTER-DECK.

The Captain to command the whole	1
The Master to assist and work the ship according to orders	1
A Midshipman to pass the word of command fore and aft	1
A Quarter-master at the gun and another at the helm	2
The First Marine Officer with twenty-four musketeers	25
Three men for the two three-pounders and a boy to fetch powder	4

ON THE MAIN DECK.

The First Lieutenant to command the ten foremost guns	1
The Second Lieutenant to command the ten aftermost guns	1
The Gunner to assist and attend all the great guns fore and aft	1
The two Master's Mates to attend the foretop-sail braces, and work the ship forward, according to orders	2
The Boatswain's Mate, with two seamen, to assist in working the ship and to repair the main rigging	3
The Carpenter and his crew to attend the pumps and the wings about the water's edge, fore and aft, with shot plugs, etc.	4
Six men to each of the ten guns on a side and its opposite, and a boy to fetch powder	70

ON THE FORECASTLE.

The Boatswain to command, with two seamen to work the ship and repair the fore-rigging	3
Three men, and a boy to fetch powder, for the two three-pounders	4
The Second Marine Officer with nine musketeers	10
In the barge upon the booms, the Third Marine Officer with eight musketeers	9
In the maintop, five men with a Midshipman at small arms, and to observe the conduct and condition of the enemy	6
In the foretop, five men at small arms, and to repair the rigging	5
In the mizentop, three men at small arms, and to repair the rigging	3
In the powder room, the Gunner's Mate with an assistant to fill and hand powder to the boys, carriers	2
In the cockpit, the Doctor and his mate	2
	160

Gentlemen Sailors.

Among the crews of many of the larger privateers were to be found a class of seamen who can only be compared with the Gentlemen Adventurers of Elizabeth's reign. They went under the name of

Gentlemen Seamen and were drawn from some of the best families in the country. On board they had unusual privileges and were not expected to do the dirty work of the ship like the common seaman, but had to make up for it when it came to fighting. Most of these young adventurers were well skilled in the use of arms from having shot for sport from boyhood and were therefore usually employed as the Marine Guard not only as sharp-shooters in action but also to form a buffer between the crew and their officers, when the former, as was not at all unusual, became disaffected and mutinous.

The Typical Privateersman.

It is very difficult to describe a typical privateersman of this period because the crews of these freelance men-of-war included every class of seaman from the ex-Navy man to the smuggler, and also had a proportion of foreigners who had enlisted in the hope of personal gain. Many contemporary writers do not hesitate to describe this foreign element as the scum of the European nations. When the privateer *Duke* sailed on her famous cruise under Rogers it is reported that a third of her crew were foreigners, while of the British subjects many were tailors, tinkers, peddlers, fiddlers and haymakers. Finally there were ten boys and one negro, so that the first job of the captain was to give them their sea legs and some insight into privateer's discipline, which he did with a plentiful application of the lash. Mutinies were very frequent on board privateers, and in many it was customary to carry double the strength of officers for the prevention of such outbreaks. Naturally this was not always possible and in other cases it did not prove advisable, as these officers frequently became the ringleaders of the trouble. Every privateer was well supplied with irons. As might well be expected, most of the mutinies arose either from disappointment at the number of prizes taken or else annoyance at the manner in which the spoil was divided, and in this latter particular the crew often enough had right on their side. Captain Woodes Rogers, one of the best known of the British privateersmen, remarks in the course of his log that " If any sea officer thinks himself endowed with patience and industry, let him command a privateer and fulfil his office well in an efficient way, and I will wager he shall not want opportunities to improve, if not exhaust, all his pluck."

A Privateer's Ransom.

Frequently it was very difficult for a privateer working at a considerable distance from her base to be sure of getting her prize into port. As a general rule the capture was due to the superior speed of the privateer, so that it was only natural that she might be re-taken by the superior speed of an enemy cruiser. For this reason it became increasingly general to ransom captive ships on the spot, although it was very severely discouraged by the authorities at home. Knowing their risk of getting their ships home the privateer was willing to accept a sum very much smaller than the actual value of the ship, and naturally enough the shipowner was glad to get off as lightly as he could. Thus both parties

were satisfied, but as an enemy ship remained in enemy possession and probably took her cargo safe to an enemy port the authorities were anything but pleased, but try as they could they were unable to stamp out the trouble. As one chance instance out of many thousands that might be quoted, it may be mentioned that in April, 1744, the ship *Ellen and Mary*, of and for Liverpool, was taken off the mouth of the Elbe by an enemy privateer and that the master contrived to ransom his ship and crew for 470 guineas, a very much smaller sum than she was worth. On the other hand one has to remember the difficulty that the Spanish privateer had to expect in getting his prize through the Straits of Dover back to Spain, or to one of the French ports.

East Indiamen with Letters of Marque.

During the French and Spanish Wars a large number of the East Indiamen took out Letters of Marque as privateers, not because they wanted to go cruising in search of prizes but because it relieved them of many of the vexatious convoy regulations, afforded them a certain amount of protection from the Press Gang, and permitted them to fire first if it appeared advisable. Many of the old East India captains were of the stout breed which believed in offence as the best defence, but had they not sailed with the protection of a privateer's commission it is possible that they might have rendered themselves liable to be tried for piracy if they used their guns before they were actually attacked by the enemy. As with all other schemes for getting round the regulations, there were of course disadvantages to this plan, but they were outweighed by the advantages.

Privateers' Discipline.

There are innumerable instances of the ill discipline on board privateers, but it is only necessary to mention two out of many to give some idea of what happened. One instance occurred in New York in September, 1705, when quite a little privateer fleet was involved. After a long spell in the cramped quarters of a privateer at sea it only wanted a certain amount of liquor to convert her people into veritable maniacs, and that is what happened on this occasion. A free fight took place in front of the house of one of the sheriffs of New York and he attempted to persuade the men to disperse. Immediately they became angry and started to wreck his house, and while they were doing it two army officers walking along quite quietly were attacked and murdered. The riot looked like spreading all over the town, but the sheriff managed to get some assistance from the crews of British men-of-war in port and with them he cleared the streets. There was little love lost between the Navy and the privateersmen, with the result that there were large numbers both killed and wounded before the fight was over. Similarly it became necessary in Liverpool to threaten the crews of privateers in port with the military unless they desisted from attacking peaceable citizens. The second instance is in the life of Captain Manley of the *Jason*, quite a well-known American captain who had to contend with very bad luck, for no sooner had he lost one ship than his second was

dismasted only two days out of port. The men made up their minds to desert in a body and Manley made up his mind that they should not, so that he insisted on their restepping the mast some distance from shore. They contended that this was dangerous and when he returned on board from a visit to the shore he found them in a state of open mutiny, refusing to touch the masts until they were alongside the quay. As soon as he saw how the land lay he relieved the sentry at his cabin door of his cutlass and then walked forward to the boatswain. He asked him quite civilly why he didn't get to work, and the man immediately began to explain how dangerous it was. Half-way through his explanation Manley got tired of it and slashed at him with the cutlass, laying open the whole of one cheek. The captain of the forecastle was also asked, and starting with the same explanation he also received a blow that laid his head open and made him a hospital case. The boatswain's mate attempted to argue and was chased all over the ship by the irate captain. In attempting to escape he jumped down the main hatchway and broke a few bones in the holds below. By this time the crew had decided that it was less dangerous to get to work, and accordingly got the mast stepped in record time and started a very successful cruise, thinking none the less of their captain for his somewhat drastic methods of maintaining discipline.

American Privateers in Colonial Days.

The same reasons that brought so many British seamen into the privateering service acted very much more powerfully in the case of the Americans, who always had a strong leaning in that direction. In the early days of the eighteenth century any number of privateers were fitted out in the Colonial ports and by their dash captured a large number of valuable prizes, especially from the Spaniards, in addition to taking part in quite major operations in conjunction with the Navy. It was when war broke out with France in 1734 that the American privateers really made a name for themselves and the fortunes of many New England families were founded in these days. In the September of that year it was estimated that there were well over a hundred privateers sailing from the Colonial ports, most of them fine vessels, well armed and carrying big crews, which were far superior to their British contemporaries cruising in home waters.

Fortunatus Wright.

Some of the eighteenth-century privateer commanders were magnificent fellows who were a credit to any service, and there are three or four who really call for special mention. One of these was Fortunatus Wright, who flourished during the war of the Austrian Succession. He was at Leghorn shortly after war broke out where he fitted out a privateer called the *Fane* with the assistance of a number of merchants residing in the town. In her he captured no less than sixteen big French merchantmen in the Eastern Mediterranean, the value of his prizes being appraised at something like four hundred thousand pounds. At the beginning of the Seven Years' War he was again at Leghorn, which at

that time was very violently in sympathy with the French, but this did not prevent him building a new privateer in the port. His plans became known and the French sent a special cruiser to watch him, stimulated by the promise of a knighthood and a naval command for anybody who could bring Wright to France, dead or alive. The authorities would only let him take on board four guns and thought that they were thus making an easy prize, but he sailed in company with other merchantmen and as soon as he was clear of the port he relieved them of their armament. He thus had twelve guns and about eighty men against the Frenchman's sixteen guns and nearly three hundred men. The fight took place within sight of thousands of enthusiastic Genoese, but the unexpected result was that the Frenchman received such a thrashing from his small enemy that he was glad enough to slip away. The authorities then attempted to seize Wright's ship, but Admiral Fawkes arriving with two big line-of-battle ships they thought better of the idea. Soon after this, and before he had got well into his stride again, Wright and his ship were lost together in a Mediterranean storm.

George Walker.

Another privateersman who deserves to rank with Fortunatus Wright is George Walker, a seaman of the very highest type whom it would be most unfair to describe as being just above the pirate as could be done with so many of his colleagues. He had already made a very considerable name for himself in 1745 when he was in command of the privateer *Mars* in the Bay of Biscay and was captured by two French line-of-battle ships. On his way back to Brest in captivity he was very nearly retaken by a British squadron, and the fact that the Frenchman managed to get away was entirely due to the behaviour of Captain Savage Mostyn who was in command of the British. He was exchanged in due course and in the following year was sent to sea in command of a privateer squadron which was generally known as the " Royal Family," consisting of the *Prince Frederick*, the *Duke*, and the *Prince George*. This fleet was raised by a syndicate of London merchants, and they had no reason to repent of their bargain, for they contrived to do far more damage to French shipping than did the majority of the King's ships. Walker was a gentleman to his finger-tips and certainly should have been given a commission in the Royal service, but was always kept out by the jealousy of the caste from which the officers were then being taken. He kept command of his squadron until 1747 and latterly flew his flag in the thirty-two-gun *King George*, the biggest ship in the fleet. In October, 1747, he fell in with the Spanish seventy-four-gun ship *Glorioso*, which had already beaten off an attack of a British ship of her own size. In any circumstances the odds seemed hard enough, but when his flagship sailed right away from her consorts and had to tackle her alone it would have appeared to be hopeless. However, he determined to do it, and yard-arm to yard-arm they hammered away at one another. Most of the Spaniard's shots went high and only damaged Walker's rigging, but at the same time his position was a very serious one until the *Prince Frederick* came up, when the *Glorioso* actually

(Macpherson Collection)

RENE DUGUAY-TROUIN.

Duguay-Trouin was one of the finest officers that France ever set afloat, and his exploits are still deservedly honoured.

(Macpherson Collection)

DUNKIRK

The port of Dunkirk was a nest of privateers and corsairs from the very beginning of its history and was a constant menace to British shipping.

THE PRIVATEER " DUKE "

The " Duke," in which Captain Woodes Rogers made his celebrated cruise round the world, was one of the finest and the best equipped of the privateers that were commissioned at this time. As may be seen by the three men being ducked from the yardarm, discipline had to be maintained by strong measures.

THE "KING GEORGE" AND OTHER PRIVATEERS ENGAGING THE "GLORIOSO," 1748.

As a rule the privateers were out after booty only, but on this occasion they had the temerity to tackle a Spanish line-of-battle ship that had already beaten off a regular man-of-war. It was one of the most gallant actions in the history of privateering.
(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

took to flight. The *King George* was far too battered to pursue, but the *Prince* took up the chase and was then joined by two of her consorts. Two British men-of-war then joined in the pursuit but H.M.S. *Dartmouth* had more than she bargained for when a lucky shot from the Spaniard blew her up with practically her whole crew. Then the eighty-gun *Russell* took up the fight and maintained it for five hours before she could make the enemy strike. When big fighting ships found the Spaniard such a hard nut to crack George Walker in his little privateer must be given the credit for being one of the finest fighting seamen of his day.

Woodes Rogers.

Rather earlier than these two in point of time and perhaps not deserving to be ranked with them, yet occupying a very high place in the history of English privateering, is Captain Woodes Rogers, who not only carried out a most extraordinary privateering cruise into the Pacific but has left us a most engaging account of it which is one of the most valuable sources of information that we possess as to how the privateers lived and worked. His cruise is one of the most remarkable on record. He sailed from Bristol in 1708 with the *Duke* of 320 tons mounting 30 guns and carrying 117 men and the *Duchess* of 260 tons with 26 guns and 108 men. To begin with, nothing was said about the voyage being anything unusual, and the men just shipped for the ordinary privateering commission, the real idea not being divulged to them until they had left port. Opportunity was taken of having one of His Majesty's men-of-war alongside them at sea to make the announcement, and any man who did not choose to go with them was to be promptly shipped on board her for indefinite service in the Navy. The result was that every man volunteered and the voyage was continued with an unusually good crew for the service. One of the principal officers was Dr. Thomas Dover, a prominent Bristol physician, who sailed for the sport of the thing and who eventually returned to take up his practice with a fortune as a result of his adventures. He is known as the inventor of the famous Dover powders, but he was a good stout privateer in addition. Having sworn in their crew, the two ships sailed to the Canary Islands, where, as was but natural, they were regarded with a good deal of suspicion. But they proved too big to touch and therefore refreshed themselves and went on with the voyage. All hands were subjected to strict discipline and the lash was frequent, but they appear to have been exceedingly pious all the way through the voyage, which was conducted on model lines. They made no prizes until they had rounded the Horn and with a good deal of difficulty found the island of Juan Fernandez which they were astonished to find inhabited by Alexander Selkirk, who was later to be the original of Robinson Crusoe. Dampier the navigator was with the expedition and he vouched for Selkirk's qualities, with the result that he was taken on and completed the cruise with them. In the Pacific they made a number of valuable prizes in addition to sacking the town of Guayaquil and other Spanish ports, so that finally, with a rich booty but with their ships almost sinking under them, they went through the

East Indies to the Cape of Good Hope and then home to England by way of Holland in company with a big Dutch convoy. Their cruise finished in 1711 and was certainly a wonderful feat of endurance. Incidentally it paid the business promoters and the seamen who took part in it very handsomely. In 1718 Woodes Rogers was sent with a specially fitted squadron to stamp out the infamous pirate colony at New Providence. This he succeeded in doing and then went on to serve Madagascar, which had long been a blot to civilisation, in the same way. He was appointed Governor of New Providence and the Bahama Islands and died there in the year 1729, a very able navigator and a fine fighting man in addition to being a writer of no mean ability.

The Discovery of Alexander Selkirk.

The fact that he is the original of Robinson Crusoe makes Alexander Selkirk interesting to everybody, and his discovery as recorded by Woodes Rogers is therefore worthy of rather longer mention than has been given to it in the foregoing. For all one's interest in his personality it has to be admitted that he was a surly, dour man who was difficult enough to get on with and it was in consequence of his quarrelling violently with his captain in a previous privateering voyage that he insisted on being landed on the island. Rogers approached the island in a rather bad way and attempted to water his crew and give them a run ashore. Accordingly he sent a boat ashore but it had some difficulty in making the land and night fell while it was still at sea. The ships saw, however, a light ashore and were quite certain that that was their boat's crew, although as a matter of fact it was the maroon trying to signal to them. When their boats returned and the light still continued to burn they thought that it must be enemy ships lying close inshore and prepared for battle. In the morning they sent in small boats heavily armed, but they were so long in returning that the captain feared that they had been captured by Spaniards ashore and accordingly sent in a pinnace which in due course returned with, as Rogers writes, " abundance of craw fish, with a man clothed in goat skins who looked wilder than the first owners of them. He had been on the island five years and four months. During his stay he had seen several ships pass but only two came to anchor which, as he went to view them, he found to be Spanish and retired upon which they shot at him. Had they been French he would have submitted, but chose to risk dying alone in the island rather than fall into the hands of the Spanish in these parts, lest they murder or make a slave of him in the mines. For he feared that they would spare no stranger that might be capable of discovering the South Sea." They pursued him into the woods and very nearly caught him, stopping to kill and skin a young goat directly under the tree into which he had climbed. He only had a pound of powder to begin with so that when this was expended he had to live by capturing wild goats with his own hands and soon became as fleet as they, much to the astonishment of the crew of the *Duke* who went goat hunting with him. To begin with he was very much troubled by rats which had been put ashore from various ships that had called there for water, but eventually

he contrived to make such friends with the wild cats with presents of goat's meat that they gathered round his hut and successfully kept down the rats.

Silas Talbot.

Another privateer captain who deserves very special mention, this time an American, is Silas Talbot. He was originally a soldier and took a prominent part in the land fighting against the British in the War of American Independence. The loyalists in the colonies had fitted out a number of privateers and it was in pursuit of these that Captain Talbot put to sea. It would be unfair to him to say that he was exceedingly lucky, but he was certainly exceedingly successful, partly due to his own skill and partly due to the excellent crew that he gathered round him. In the latter days of the war he captured quite a number of British privateering craft, some of them of appreciably greater power than his own, and finally he was provided by the Government with the privateer cruiser *General Washington* mounting twenty six-pounder guns with 120 men. He met with considerable success until in thick weather he suddenly found himself in the middle of the British Fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot. He made efforts to escape and had a very good chance of doing so until the wind freshened into a gale, when the greater size of one of the British line-of-battle ships enabled her to come up to and finally to capture the little privateer. Talbot was sent to the old Mill Prison at Plymouth, but at the end of 1781 he was released and made his way to France. On his way home to America he was captured by the British privateer *Jupiter,* whose captain remarked that he had spent so long in captivity that it was only fair that he should be given a chance to return to his own home and accordingly sent him to New York, a mark of courtesy that was very much appreciated in America at the time. After the war he was one of the officers regularly commissioned into the United States Navy, on which he left a distinct mark.

British Privateers on the American Coast.

The successes of the privateers commissioned by the revolting colonies were so striking that before long very few loyal merchantmen dare venture out of the ports still in British hands. As the British regular cruiser force in these waters was small and not nearly powerful enough for its purpose, the rebels contrived to maintain a very considerable coasting trade and the loyalist owners whose ships were tied in port thought they would put them to good use by commissioning them as counter-privateers. Some of these were very successful and they contrived to cut up the colonials' coasting trade until a number of coast-guard vessels were commissioned by individual States to counter their activities.

Privateer Actions.

Generally speaking privateers were far more interested in earning a dividend for their owners and prize money for themselves than they were in fighting their country's enemies, and most of them studiously avoided actions either with enemy men-of-war or with enemy privateers.

Men like Walker or Talbot were not of this type, but the great majority of privateers were out purely and simply for what they could get out of their venture, and patriotism was a very small consideration with them. Occasionally, however, quite bitterly contested privateer actions were fought, especially in the War of American Independence, when most of the American privateers had a strong patriotic spirit and their confrères in the British service were urged on by pride badly hurt by the early American successes. On one or two occasions regular fixed actions between squadrons were fought, but as a rule these privateer fights were between single ships, when much depended on the weight of metal and the comparative value of the crews. In this war the Americans, having all their crews of one people and one speech, had a big advantage, for the British got their crews from anybody who would serve, frequently even from their prizes. Also the best of the British seamen had been impressed by the Navy, while the Americans, having no Navy at sea, were free of this particular difficulty. Out of many examples may be mentioned the case in which the American privateer *Jason,* commanded by the Captain Manley whose methods of quelling mutinies have already been mentioned, contrived to separate two British privateers sailing in company and captured them one after another. This was regarded as a great triumph at the time and created tremendous excitement in the United States.

The " Terrible " and the " Vengeance."

Not all privateer actions were half-hearted, as was seen by the fight between the British privateer *Terrible* and the St. Malo privateer *Vengeance* in 1757. The British corsair was commanded by Captain Death and she had had the luck to capture a very rich French merchantman which promised to give a good return to all hands. The *Terrible* mounted 26 guns and while she was homeward bound, short-handed by the prize crew that she had put on board the merchantman, she was met and tackled by the *Vengeance* of 36 guns. The *Terrible's* prize was soon recaptured and her guns used against the Briton. Captain Death was in no way averse to an action and they set to it hammer and tongs until finally the Frenchman, with her captain and two-thirds of his crew killed, contrived to silence his enemy. When they finally boarded they found the ship rapidly sinking and of the two hundred British who had started the fight only sixteen left alive. Curiously enough with a captain named Death the two lieutenants of the *Terrible* were named Spirit and Ghost. Another magnificently contested action was between the French privateer *Deux Amis,* mounting 10 guns and carrying ninety-eight men, and the Colonial privateer *Phruloe,* mounting 13 guns but having a considerably smaller crew. For two hours they fought a fierce action until finally the Frenchman struck with eighty of his eighty-four men either killed or wounded, while the *Phruloe* had thirty-seven men down.

American Naval Officers' Privateering.

During the latter days of the War of American Independence the infant United States Navy was wiped practically out of existence, but the personnel that had been enrolled in it existed with a magnificent

(Macpherson Collection)

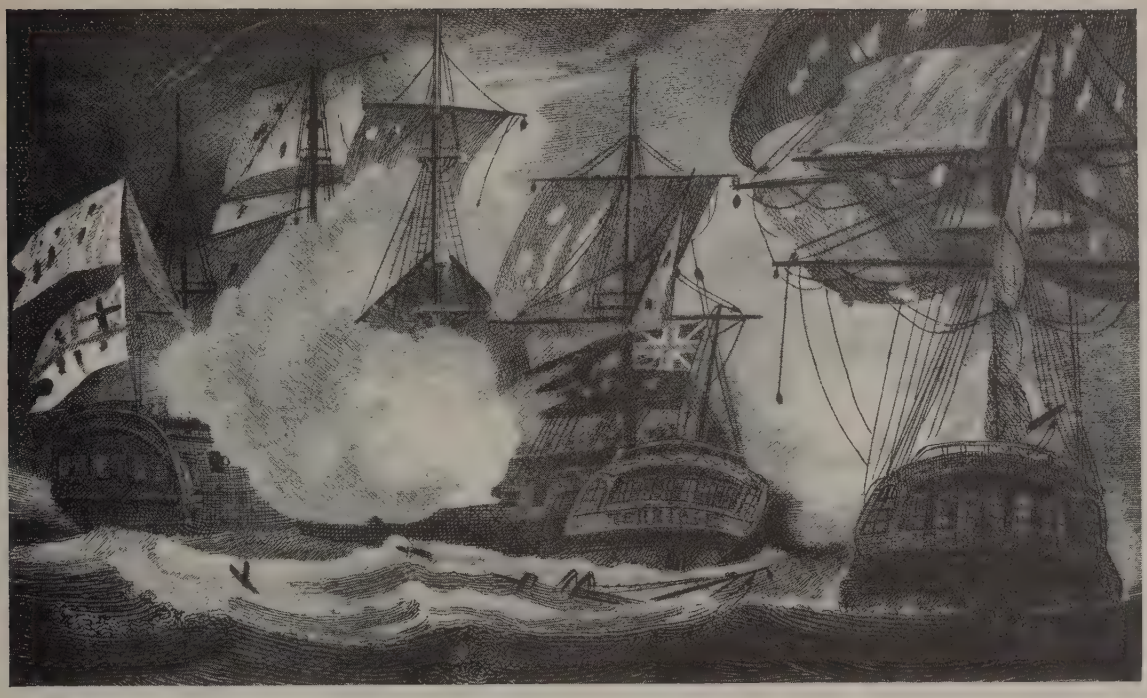
THE TAKING OF THE "MARQUESE D'ANTIN" AND "LOUIS ERASME" BY THE PRIVATEERS "PRINCE FREDERICK" AND "DUKE," 1745.

These privateers were among the best known of those commissioned by the British and had a number of noteworthy captures to their credit.

(Macpherson Collection)

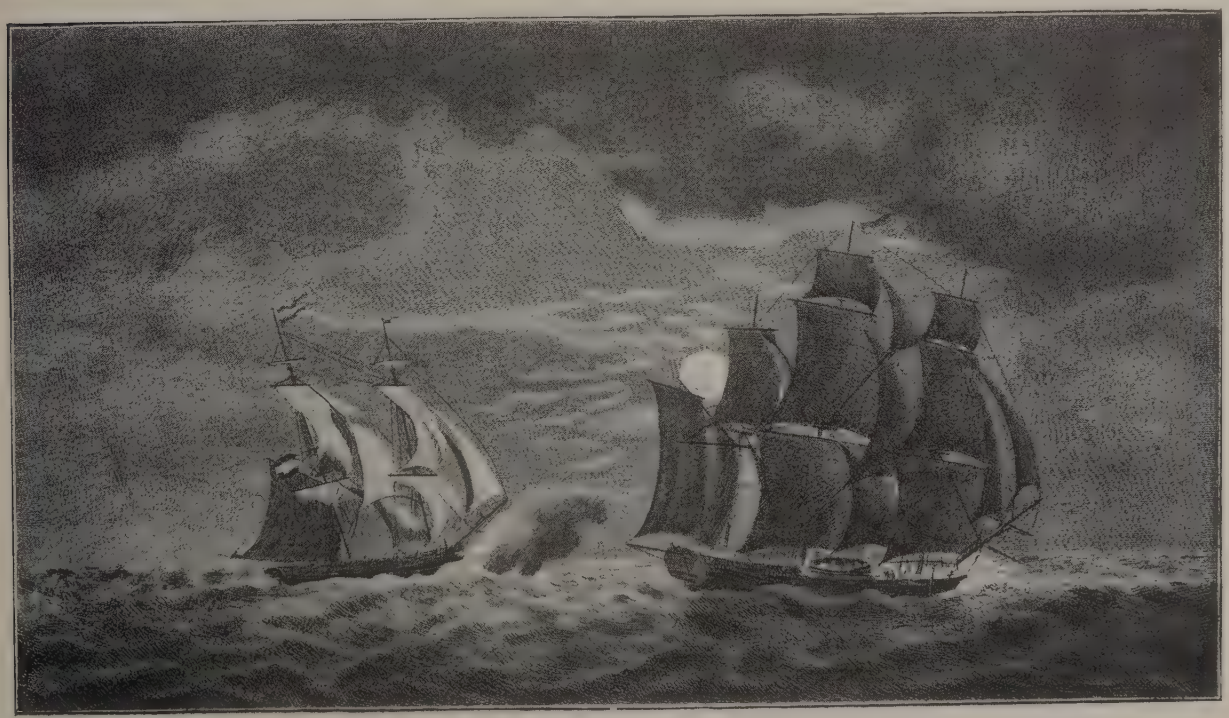
MULEY ABDALLAH, EMPEROR OF MOROCCO, ORDERING THE MASSACRE OF 335 OF HIS OWN SUBJECTS IN THE PRESENCE OF ENGLISH SLAVES, WHO WERE THE CREW OF THE "INSPECTOR" PRIVATEER WRECKED ON THE BARBARY COAST

Many of the slaves held by the Algerines were treated with considerable kindness by their captors, but life was held cheap in any circumstances, and the life of the galley slaves was appalling in the Christian as well as the Moslem ships.



ACTION BETWEEN THE BRITISH PRIVATEER "TERRIBLE" AND THE FRENCH "VENGEANCE"

This action resulted in the former being forced to strike after a gallant resistance.



(Macpherson Collection)

CAPTURE OF THE "MARIANNE," EAST INDIAMAN, BY A DUTCH PRIVATEER, NOVEMBER, 1782

In spite of the fact that they appeared on paper to be heavily armed, most East Indiamen were but poorly equipped for defending themselves, and many fell victims to privateers.

(Macpherson Collection)

H.M. BRIG "OBSERVER" AND THE AMERICAN PRIVATEER "JACK," OFF HALIFAX HARBOUR, N.S., 29TH MAY, 1782

(AQUATINT BY AND AFTER R. DODD, 1784.)

Although they could do little with their Navy, the Americans fitted out some very fine privateers which were capable of giving a very good account of themselves in action

spirit. The regularly commissioned cruisers had little chance, but the privateers slipped in and out of the ports and did far better. When most of the regular men-of-war were either destroyed or blockaded the greater part of the officers who had been enrolled in the Navy served in privateers. If one takes a list of the American destroyers of to-day, all of them named after naval officers who have particularly distinguished themselves against the enemy, a surprisingly large proportion will be found to have won their laurels in privateers.

The Luck of the "Yankees."

Among the first of the American privateers to put to sea against the English in the War of American Independence were the three *Yankees*. They were fitted out in Massachusetts and consisted of the sloop *Yankee* of nine guns, the brig *Yankee Hero* mounting fourteen, and the brig *Yankee Ranger*. The first-named, which put to sea with only sixteen men, captured two big British merchantmen and put a prize crew on board each. On the way home the captured men rose, overcame their American captors and compelled the little *Yankee* to surrender and be taken back to Dover in triumph. The *Yankee Hero* had a very short career, for no sooner had she sailed than she fell in with a powerful British frigate who compelled her to surrender in no time. On the other hand the *Yankee Ranger* made three or four prizes which paid for her unlucky consorts and still left quite a good profit.

The Interception of British Supplies.

Although in common with privateersmen all over the world the Americans were prompted principally by hope of financial gain, it must be admitted that they did splendid work for their country in its earliest struggles. All British supplies had to come overseas and the weakly armed and slow transport vessels made an ideal mark for the American privateersmen who levied a heavy toll on them. The ships *Lynch* and *Franklin* were specially commissioned for this work and although they found themselves off the Bay of Fundy instead of the St. Lawrence, as they had hoped, they contrived to capture a number of loyalist merchantmen. One of their prizes carried the Governor of New Brunswick, but all of such prisoners were immediately released because the commanders of the privateers maintained that they were not fighting the people but the ministry in London which had done all the damage. Later, however, they were luckier in intercepting British supply ships, one of their most valuable prizes being the transport *Hope*, laden with no less than fifteen hundred barrels of powder, gun carriages, entrenching tools, and everything that was wanted for an army in the field, and especially by the American army which existed on this booty for many months.

The Success of American Privateers.

In the foregoing one cannot fail to note that the American privateers had an extraordinary run of luck and wherever they met the ships of other nations they were victorious more often than not. There were two reasons for this. One is that the early American trade was almost

entirely in contraband to the Spanish West Indian colonies and that therefore the Americans had early made themselves masters of the art of designing fast sailing ships, an art in which they are still pre-eminent. This was perhaps the principal reason of their success, but there was also the fact that they early took to the policy of building ships specially for privateering, while the British authorities did not encourage any such construction on account of the difficulty that they already had with getting men for the Navy. Lastly, there was the fact that at this time the American privateers were practically all manned by the same people, or by foreigners who were inflamed with the enthusiasm of the American cause, which was a very big consideration when it came to a general action.

Privateers Large and Small.

At the same time it must not be thought that all American privateers were specially designed, for every ship that could fight was made to and some of the most successful appeared the least likely. According to the somewhat scanty record kept by the various States, it would appear that during this war the most successful privateer was the *Marlborough*, fitted out in Massachusetts, which was extraordinarily lucky and came through the war unscathed. Curiously enough the next vessel on the list in point of number of prizes bears the name of *Skunk*, and was nothing more than an open boat fitted out by twenty men in New Jersey and carrying two light guns, but which captured her value very many times over by the sheer desperate gallantry of her people.

Privateers' Prisoners.

One of the greatest difficulties of a privateersman was the disposition of his prisoners, for it generally happened that before he had been out very long his captives far exceeded his own crew in number. On this account, as well as for the better discipline of his own people, a principal item in a privateer's equipment was nearly always a plentiful supply of manacles. Even so it was not always successful, and literally scores of cases are reported when the prisoners had risen and taken possession of their ship or even of the privateer itself. One case out of many that may be given is that of the American privateer *Eagle* during the War of Independence. She was only a small 6-gun sloop with a crew of thirty men, but she had extraordinary luck and in a very short cruise she captured six big merchantmen. Fifteen of her thirty men were put aboard these merchantmen as prize crews while the other fifteen navigated the *Eagle* home with a large number of prisoners. These prisoners found a favourable opportunity and rose, killing the whole of their captors except the two boys, and then started to make the best of their way into their home port. On the way there they met another American privateer and were again captured, so that their last state was infinitely worse than their first.

A Lucky Defence.

The luck was not always on the side of the privateer, however, and some extraordinarily lucky defences are reported in the history of these

wars. There was one case recorded in Lloyd's List during 1744, but unfortunately the ship and her men are not named. She was a small Yarmouth vessel on her way to Rotterdam, mounting two small guns and four swivels and manned by only five men and a boy. She was attacked off the coast of Holland by a French privateer mounting ten sizable guns and having seventy men, but put up such a gallant defence that she kept her enemy at bay for four hours and repulsed three attempts at boarding. Finally a lucky shot set fire to the privateer's magazine and blew her up with her whole crew.

The Swedish Privateer "Providence."

It is the English, French and American privateers that come in for most notice, but all nations commissioned them and one of the most celebrated was *La Providence*, flying the Swedish flag. She mounted twenty-six guns and was under the command of a Captain Cross, who had a death sentence hanging over him in his native England and who had therefore a special bitterness against British ships. He had a mongrel crew drawn from all nations and was none too particular as to his prizes, being in fact little better than a pirate. He made the French Channel ports his headquarters as a rule and attacked quite a number of homeward bound East Indiamen between the years 1715 and 1720, taking very considerable sums in booty.

Mauritius.

Almost as soon as the French East India Company in 1715 took possession of Mauritius from the Dutch, who had abandoned it in 1710, the island, which was then known as the Ile de France, became one of their principal privateering centres. Its geographical position made it ideal for intercepting British East Indiamen, and there being a very fair number of suitable vessels in existence in the colony, the inhabitants took to privateering as easily as a duck takes to water. It was not until well on in the nineteenth century that the nest was finally suppressed; how much damage had been done to British commerce before then it is impossible to estimate.

Jacques Cassard.

In addition to their corsair war on commerce in the open sea, the privateers sometimes carried out coast blockades of important ports. During the Seven Years' War, when the British Navy was quite inadequate for the duties that it had to perform, Liverpool was actually blockaded by privateers, and the same thing occurred time and again during the War of American Independence on the other side of the Atlantic. Perhaps the greatest of the French corsairs is Duguay Trouin, who has already been mentioned in his capacity of Admiral of the Royal Fleet, but not far behind him was Jacques Cassard. He was originally a fisher boy on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland and then served in the same capacity in a privateer out of St. Malo. He soon made a name for himself and was entrusted by the people of Nantes with the finest privateer they could fit out. For years at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth he was the terror of

British merchantmen, and indeed did so extraordinarily well that he soon fell under the jealousy of the regular French naval officers. They contrived to have him superseded and deprived of his prize money, and many years afterwards he was to be seen, a ragged sailorman proudly wearing the Order of St. Louis that he had earned so well, hanging about the court in order to get his case heard. He was constantly prevented and finally losing his temper with Cardinal Fleury he was thrown into prison where he died, neglected and disgraced.

The Pros and Cons of Privateering.

As a general rule very poor relations existed between the privateersmen and the men of the regular Navy, with the result that in many cases the reputation of the privateer was very poor indeed. Certainly some of them deserved it, for it is only natural that fighting men under doubtful discipline, whose one aim is gain, should be liable to commit atrocities and forget the laws of war. On the other hand they had a very important place in the naval history of most of the maritime powers at this time. Their halcyon days were when the Navy was doing badly, for when the regular fighting ships had cleared the seas of all enemy merchantmen there was nothing to be had, but when they were beaten back to their own coast the daring privateers had the opportunity of slipping through the cordon and taking their toll of enemy shipping, not only enriching themselves but making a very big difference to the fortunes and the naval disposition of the enemy who were bound to protect themselves from these raids. Although it cannot be pretended that men like Fortunatus Wright or Silas Talbot were typical privateers, their story prevents one generalising too harshly against Letters of Marque men in general. Had the various nations had a better conception of their naval duties at this time, and had they kept their armament up to a reasonable level, there would not have been as much need for privateering immediately war broke out. But as it was, they were at the worst a necessary evil, and both the difference that they made to naval warfare and many of their individual actions deserve to be remembered. In the middle of the nineteenth century it was high time that they were abolished, for conditions had changed, but regarded in the light of their time one is not so much inclined to belittle the privateersmen as were some of their contemporaries.

(Macpherson Collection)

A VIEW OF NEW YORK ABOUT THE YEAR 1750
(From an Engraving by Carwitham, the engraving was executed when New York was a British possession; in later and less rare states of it the British flag is replaced by the American flag.)

CHAPTER V—PIRATES, SMUGGLERS, AND SLAVERS

Pirates in General.

The true history of the pirates gives one rude shocks after all that one has imagined since childhood. The real pirates of romance were very few and far between, while the fraternity of sea rovers consisted of an enormous number of criminals of a very different calibre. Many of them were decent enough seamen who were driven to the life by the conditions which were allowed to hold and to continue in the merchant service. Such men stole what they had to in order to keep body and soul together and were lineal descendants of the men who followed Drake and Lancaster, but they did not realise the fact that times had changed. There were always dreams of lands to be conquered by a ready arm, and such robberies as they were forced to commit on the High Seas lay very lightly on their consciences. They robbed the shipowners, it is true, but when one reads of the way they were treated by these same shipowners in their respectable days one cannot altogether blame them. Alongside these there were numerous pirates of the sneak-thief order who bore just the same relationship to Avery or Teach as the average footpad or Beggar's Opera highwayman did to Claude Duval. Then there were a few of the real thing, the pirates who really did commit every atrocity that they could think of—although, curiously enough, history does not give us a single definite instance of one of them having thought of making his victims walk the plank—and one cannot help revelling in their stories. But they were not the typical pirates by any means, in fact it would be difficult to mention any real type. They were just a collection of thieves of all calibres who had been cast by fate upon the waters instead of on the highways.

The Black Flag Period.

The most interesting period in the history of piracy was the early days of the eighteenth century, usually known as the Black Flag period. Operations under the Jolly Roger appear to have been confined very largely to the Western Atlantic and Caribbean, although occasionally they were carried on in Madagascar. At that time the pirates, copying the buccaneers of old, had bound themselves into something of a State and had adopted a stern discipline for their own protection. As might well be expected, this did not last very long with such restless characters, but while it did there is no doubt that it paid and their prizes went up by leaps and bounds. The object of the dread ensign was simple—the hope that merchant seamen on seeing it would be so struck with terror that they would surrender rather than put up a fight, for it must be remembered that very few of the old-time pirates had any stomach for fighting and much preferred to take their booty without any danger to themselves. The traditional skull above crossed bones on a black ground is only positively known to have been employed on one occasion and that a hundred years after the end of what is usually regarded as the Black Flag period. The pirates exhibited a very pretty taste for the gruesome in the design of their flags, and if these were really intended to strike terror they left nothing to be desired.

The End of the Seventeenth Century.

The great outbreak of piracy at the end of the seventeenth century in the West Indies really started with a Frenchman, Pierre Le Grande, who began operations as a buccaneer on comparatively respectable lines and speedily dropped into rank piracy. He must be given the credit for courage, however, and it was his surprising success that attracted many men to the rover's life, including some who had escaped from transportation to the plantations.

Ravenau de Lussau.

Another Frenchman who was on the border line between privateer and pirate was Le Sieur Ravenau de Lussau, who flourished in the West Indies about the same time as Pierre Le Grande. He was a French noble with the usual extravagant habits of his class, and it was to restore his finances that he took to buccaneering as a profession. Incidentally he has left us a really delightful account of his exploits which gives us a tolerably good idea of the life of these gentry at that time, although some of them have to be taken with more than a little salt. He really seems to have been genuine in a deep religious feeling, for whatever Spanish town he took he would never allow his men to molest any religious house, priest or nun, an act of restraint on his part which betokens very considerable strength of mind considering the circumstances of the time. He was a stout fighter nevertheless, and after taking a Spanish position he would invariably insist on his whole crew attending Mass before he allowed the usual looting to commence. It would appear that other prizes than Spanish fell to his lot, and finally he did so well that he was able to return to his beloved Paris to pay his creditors and die there in the manner that he would have chosen.

Piracy by the Spanish Guarda-Costas.

With so many Englishmen, Frenchmen and Dutchmen preying on them it is not surprising that the Spaniards retaliated, but some of the actions of the small coastguard vessels which they kept in commission in the West Indies were rank piracy. The local governors had unlimited powers and as they were never paid from home they had to do as well as they could on the spot, a principle of which only the most conscientious had any reason to complain. They commissioned numerous privateers without the least reason and such British ships as really were proceeding in West Indian waters upon their lawful occasions—their number must be accepted with reserve—did so at great risk. Possibly because he was the gentleman who cut off Jenkins's ear and precipitated war, Captain Juan de Leon Fandino is one of the most notorious of the irregular gun-boat commanders, many of the British ships that he captured being looted without the slightest effort to get them condemned as regular prizes. Finally he was brought to book in the Bahamas by H.M.S. *Rose*. The Spaniards put up a desperate defence and are even reported to have used poisoned arrows, but after being literally torn to pieces the crew insisted on surrendering against Fandino's wish. Besides a few Spaniards his crew consisted of Indians, mulattoes and negroes, so that one can well understand the complaints concerning his piracy. All

these cases, however, have a certain amount of justification in the conditions of the time, and it is necessary to turn from them to the out-and-out pirates who do not pretend to be anything else.

Captain Kidd.

In studying pirates perhaps the most disappointing figure is Captain William Kidd, who has come down to us from our childhood as the most terrifying character of them all, whereas when we are studying his real history he proves to be a very decent sort of fellow and a stout fighter withal who was sacrificed and hanged on account of other people's political bias. Kidd was a Greenock man born in 1655, and first appears in history in the year 1689 as the commander of a privateer commissioned by the Government of New York. In this position he proved himself a very fine seaman, and although on one occasion his ship was seized by her crew to go a-pirating he was entrusted with command after command and did well in practically every one of them. In 1696 Kidd was commissioned by William III to take the ship *Adventure* and rout out the most notorious pirates, at the same time taking out Letters of Marque which instructed him to run down the French and their friends whenever and however they were to be met. This was a private rather than a national enterprise and most members of the Government of the day were financially interested in it. He put to sea and attempted to fulfil his dual mission to the best of his ability, but he had a scum of a crew and had the greatest difficulty in preventing them turning pirates themselves. The gunner was so insistent on the fact that piracy was their only possible course that Kidd laid him out with a wash-deck bucket and being a colosally powerful man the gunner did not recover. Having by this means quieted his crew he again did his best to capture pirates and the enemies of the King, and thus fell in which two ships belonging to the Great Mogul. These ships had provided themselves with safe conducts from the French, which were quite enough to condemn them as allies according to the custom of the times, and there is no doubt that Kidd was quite justified in capturing them as he did. However, he had had great difficulty in getting his stores and therefore thought that it would be the safest course to go to New England where his old patron, Lord Bellomont, was then Governor of New York. He was the more determined to do this because he had already heard that he had been branded as a pirate.

The Betrayal of Kidd.

Unfortunately Kidd did not reckon on the strength of political motives in those days, for that was before the advent of party Government, and while he was away the old majority in the Council had given place to a new, and his friend, Lord Chancellor Somers, was the only one that the newcomers had not succeeded in displacing. Bellomont was a time-server who was quite willing to sell his friend for the favour of those in power at home. Accordingly Kidd was arrested at New York and sent home in irons. His trial, with as much contumely as could be piled on his head, was regarded as the finest way of hitting at the Lord Chancellor and accordingly he was brought up at the Old Bailey. He

was not permitted to produce the French passes which he had taken from the Great Mogul's ships, although these are now to be seen at the Public Records Office, and was only given a farcical trial. But even with a packed jury the prosecution did not dare accuse him of piracy and the offence for which he was tried was that " Being moved and seduced by the instigations of the Devil he did make an assault in and upon William Moore upon the high seas with a certain wooden bucket, bound with iron hoops, of the value of eightpence, giving the said William Moore one mortal bruise of which the aforesaid William Moore did languish and die." Piracy was brought in as a rider after he had been found guilty and condemned to death.

The Execution, May 23rd, 1701.

In those days the Chaplain of Newgate combined with his holy office that of special reporter to the news sheets which rejoiced in the last words of executed criminals. The scaffold was little more than a ladder by the river-side and up this ladder Kidd climbed without a vestige of fear, followed by the Chaplain in search of " copy." At the first attempt to hang him the rope broke and dropped him into the mud, whereupon he climbed up again quite calmly—still followed by the importunate Chaplain—and at the second attempt was duly hanged, one of the grossest miscarriages of justice in the history of the sea being thus perpetrated. As for the fabled treasure that has been sought so many times, there never was any except a few pounds worth of booty which he took from the Great Mogul's ships and which was duly surrendered to Lord Bellomont.

Thomas Tew.

One of the pirates in whose pursuit Kidd was specially sent was Thomas Tew or Too, who was commissioned by the Governor of Barbados to help attack the French colony in Gambia. Tew and his men saw infinitely more promise in piracy and sailed to the Red Sea instead, where his daring made him unusually successful. At the same time he was as gentle in his methods as he well could be, and extraordinarily fair in dividing his spoils. He and the bizarre French pirate Misson—surely the quaintest character that was ever outlawed—worked together for some time and finally he found that he had the means to retire to respectability. He took the first opportunity to repay an old Barbadan friend who had originally fitted him out for sea with a high rate of interest which was not demanded. But the love of the roving life was strong upon him and he was soon afloat again. Hoping to repeat his early success, he tackled a huge ship belonging to the Great Mogul and met with a warm reception. He died a gallant death in the action and as soon as he fell his men quietly surrendered to the execution that they knew was awaiting them.

An Idealist Pirate.

When they were not merely commonplace, the pirates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were generally bizarre in the extreme, but surely there was never such a figure as the best known of the French

(Macpherson Collection)

CAPTAIN TEACH, GENERALLY KNOWN AS BLACKBEARD

Teach was one of the most terrifying, and from the romantic point of view the most satisfying of the pirates, for there is no questioning his savagery. The two slow matches which he kept burning under the brim of his hat are characteristic.

(Macpherson Collection)

CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW ROBERTS, THE PIRATE

Another and more generally accepted portrait of the freebooter showing him as the dandy of his profession. Most pirates seemed to have had an inordinate love of finery, but Captain Roberts was particularly noteworthy in this respect.

(Macpherson Collection)

BARTHOLOMEW ROBERTS THE PIRATE AND HIS SHIP "THE ROYAL FORTUNE"

The black flag and Pirate Jack are specially to be noted, for this was a matter in which each individual pirate exercised his fancy, and the traditional skull over crossed bones is only known to have been used on one occasion and that at a comparatively late date.

(Macpherson Collection)

HANGING A PIRATE AT WAPPING

The object in the hand of the horseman on the left is supposed to be the Silver Oar of Admiralty which is hung in the Admiralty Court to-day. The Chaplain was also the special correspondent of the broadsheets that were then so popular after an execution and was in great demand to write the last words of the condemned wretch.

pirates of this period, Captain Misson. A cadet of a good Provençal family, at the University he excelled in classical learning and logic, but was destined by his father for the career of a soldier. He preferred the sea, however, and when quite a youngster went into the French Navy. He showed himself to be of unusual merit and keenness and would have done well had he stuck to it, but before long he had exchanged the regular service for privateering and, having come under the influence of an unfrocked Italian priest, they actually persuaded the crew of a man-of-war to go a-pirating with them, with the great idea of founding a Utopian maritime republic on the coast of Africa. They always set about their piracies with a great deal of speech-making and the expression of numerous high thoughts, and in their favour it must be admitted that there are no atrocities or cruelties against their account. Most of their captures were made without bloodshed, but when an English captain was slain in the defence of his ship Misson went to endless trouble to have a fitting stone cross erected over his grave. Finally, after having done very well out of piracy and astounded the whole maritime world by the mildness of his methods, he founded his republic of Libertania on the East African coast close to Madagascar. He liberated the slaves and for many years ruled this little Utopia in model fashion, until finally the natives rose and drove the whites into the sea where, overtaken by a storm in an unseaworthy boat, Misson and all his followers were drowned.

A Massachusetts Pirate.

As showing how much could be done in the piratical line may be mentioned John Quelch, who was a seaman in the little 80-ton brigantine *Charles*, which was fitted out at Boston in 1703 to go privateering. Soon after leaving Marblehead there was a mutiny on board, and Quelch and the greater part of the crew took possession of the ship and went a-roving. They were careful not to harm the captain : they just threw him overboard to drown. Quelch was one of the first pirates to hoist a really alarming black flag. It was a big affair, containing a skeleton holding an hour-glass in one hand and in the other a bleeding heart. In this little vessel they captured a number of very rich Portuguese prizes off the coast of Brazil and then actually had the impudence to return to Marblehead. Some pirates had done it with impunity, but Quelch and his crew were arrested in due course and sentenced to death in 1704. Every day between their sentence and execution they were forced to listen to sermons from all the ministers of religion in Boston, one of whom preached a last sermon on the scaffold. The attitude which Quelch took was rather curious, for he solemnly addressed the crowd and to the astonishment of the ministers warned them to be careful how they brought money into New England, for they would be hanged for it.

The Pirate of Romance.

For a really satisfactory pirate at this period one must turn to Edward Teach, or Blackbeard, who was lacking in nothing as far as savagery was concerned. He was a West Countryman and had settled in Jamaica in a very subordinate capacity, sailing before the mast in a

privateer. In 1716 he took to piracy and soon distinguished himself so much in his own particular way that his chief put him into the command of the smaller of his two ships. With these two vessels they took a number of prizes, burning the majority, but finally came across a French West Indiaman which was such a magnificent vessel that they commissioned her as the *Queen Anne's Revenge*, arming her with forty guns and putting her under the command of " Blackbeard," who had then assumed the principal position in the partnership. With a ship of this sort he had nothing to fear from any merchantman, and actually beat off H.M. 30-gun frigate *Scarborough* after a very sharp engagement. He then entered into partnership with Major Stede Bonnet, who will be mentioned later on. Between them they made their names a terror along the whole coast. A number of pirates had been hanged at Boston lately, so that when they took the *Protestant Cæsar* of that town she was burned and such of her crew as would not join the pirates were murdered. Having had a very successful cruise Teach decided that there were too many hands to divide the treasure and accordingly he deliberately wrecked two of his three vessels. With his own friends he made a sudden descent on the third and left the greater part of his gang to starve on the little sandy island on which the wrecks were lying. After that, by some extraordinary means he obtained a pardon from the Governor of North Carolina, and there is more than a suggestion that His Excellency was very well paid for it.

Blackbeard's Romance.

Teach seemed a bloodthirsty scoundrel whose one idea was plunder and murder, yet he appears to have been quite enslaved by a young girl of sixteen whom he married in spite of the fact that there were several other wives then in existence. She did not keep him from piracy, however, any more than she kept him from a few further marriages, and eventually things got so bad that Lieutenant Robert Maynard, R.N., commissioned a small sloop the *Ranger* and went in pursuit of the pirate. In this little vessel he came upon Blackbeard on November 17th, 1718, at the mouth of the James River. A terrific fight ensued, Teach being every bit as ready for the engagement as his pursuers and leading a boarding party. He must have been a fearsome figure, a man of unusual stature with a huge black beard and a perfect armoury of pistols. To make his appearance more Satanic he was in the habit of fixing a burning slow match over each ear to light up his face under his hat. Eventually he fell, wounded in no fewer than twenty-five places, and the little *Ranger* returned to port with his head nailed to her bowsprit. He had a humour of his own which showed itself in various ways. The Israel Hands who was to be immortalised by Stevenson in " Treasure Island " was his gunner and one day was invited to drink with his captain in the cabin. Suddenly Teach blew out the candle and in the dark fired both pistols under the table. Hands got one ball in the knee and was lamed for life, but Blackbeard airily explained that that sort of thing occasionally was good for discipline. In the diary which he kept most carefully right to the end are two

illuminating passages dated 1718. The first reads: " Rum all out—our Company somewhat sober—a damned confusion among us—rogues a plotting—great talk of separation—so I look'd sharp for a prize." The other reads: " Took one with a great deal of liquor on board, so kept the Company hot, damned hot, then all things went well again."

Major Stede Bonnet.

When Major Stede Bonnet, a regular Army major and big land-owner in Barbados, went a-pirating it naturally caused a big scandal among his neighbours, but his friends maintained, and apparently the good Barbadians after investigation were quite willing to admit, that from a most respectable magistrate his mind had become unbalanced entirely and understandably owing to the tongue of Mrs. Bonnet. He may have been mad, but there was certainly method in his madness when he fitted out the 10-gun sloop *Revenge* quite openly with the alleged intention of trading among the islands, and then slipped out at night and started a most successful cruise. He did not know the sharp end of a ship from the blunt, but he had extraordinarily good luck and made a number of rich prizes. He had great trouble with his crew, however, so that when he joined forces with Blackbeard he was ordered to hand over the command of his ship to the latter's lieutenant, while he had to accept a subordinate position in the flagship. He seems to have accepted this quite meekly, but later received the pardon of the Governor of North Carolina, a pardon that was easily enough obtained in those days. Immediately afterwards he received permission to take his sloop and commission her as a privateer against Spain, but on the way he learnt that Blackbeard with a small crew was lying quite close by. Burning to revenge himself for the insults he had received and for the cruelties that he had since discovered Blackbeard had practised on his men, he forgot all about his new-found respectability and went in search of the pirate. He failed to find him but he realised that he had compromised himself and therefore went a-roving again, this time under the name of Captain Thomas. This name was soon as infamous as that of Blackbeard and an expedition was fitted out by the Governor of South Carolina to capture him. He was cornered on September 25th, 1718, and after a desperate fight of five hours was forced to surrender. He was taken to Charleston in triumph but escaped from prison and gave the Governor the job of catching him afresh. He and his crew were tried in Charleston and duly hanged. Soon after his death there were reports afloat that he had made his victims walk the plank. There may have been truth in these reports, but they rest on rather poor evidence and must be accepted with reserve. If they are true he seems to have been the only pirate who practised this method.

Bartholomew Roberts.

It is curious that some of the most successful pirates were Welsh-men—perhaps because they mixed a keen business sense with their other qualities. Bartholomew Roberts made piracy a business, and while some of his actions were of extraordinary ferocity he went about them in a cold and calculating manner which is surprising. A total abstainer

himself, he enforced something like a man-of-war's discipline on board his ships and frequently even succeeded in keeping his crew sober. All gambling was very strictly forbidden and any quarrels on board had to be taken to him and then settled on shore by a regular duel with cutlass and pistol. Anybody who fought on board ship had a very short life. Most pirates had a leaning towards over dressing but Roberts appears to have beaten them all. Rather a fine-looking man to begin with, he sailed the seas in a most elaborate costume, a gold chain supporting a huge diamond cross from his neck, a silken baldrick over one shoulder having two tiers of pistols slung in it, and a heavy sword in his belt.

Roberts took up piracy in 1719, when he was master of a slaver which was captured by another Welsh pirate, and soon had command of his own ship. His late commander being killed in action with the Portuguese at the Island of Princes, Roberts destroyed the entire settlement before he put to sea. In Bahia Bay he sailed into the middle of a whole fleet with its convoy and captured the richest before he slipped away in safety. During his career he is reckoned to have done more damage to shipping than any other freebooter. Finally H.M.S. *Swallow* under the command of Captain Chaloner Ogle cornered his ship the *Royal Fortune* by means of a ruse and in the fierce action that ensued Roberts was hit in the throat and killed, dying just as he had lived, with a savage oath in his teeth. A curious kink in his character was that he always desired more than anything else to have a chaplain on board and when one was eventually taken in a prize he did everything that he possibly could to persuade him to join the pirate band. The cleric stubbornly refused but came to no harm and was allowed to proceed on his way, his captors apologising profusely for having relieved him of three prayer books and a corkscrew.

Women Pirates.

There are records of quite a number of women pirates during this period, but the most famous are certainly Ann Bonny and Mary Read. The former was the daughter of an Irish lawyer who settled in Carolina and did well. Against her father's wish she secretly married a young sailor and was promptly disowned. Finding that he was not getting a fortune with his bride the sailor deserted her and went to sea again, but she soon found a substitute in the pirate " Calico Jack " Rackam. She sailed with him and appears to have been one of the most dangerous members of his crew until they were captured near Jamaica in October, 1780. There was another woman on board in the person of Mary Read, whose name occurs again in pirate history a century later, but it would appear that these two behaved better than most of the men. Mary Read had a history even more romantic than Ann Bonny, for she had been brought up as a boy with the idea of having a better chance of earning a living and had served both as a man-of-warsman and a soldier without her sex being discovered. She married a fellow trooper and for some time they kept an inn, but tiring of this life she donned men's clothes again and shipped on board a West Indiaman.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE "JUMPING JENNY" LANDING HER CARGO
From an Aquatint by an Unknown Artist

This ship was captured by Rackam and she joined his crew as a seaman. While on board she was as noteworthy as Bonny for her courage and on one occasion fought a duel with sword and pistol with another pirate and killed her man. After their capture both women were sentenced to death, but Mary Read died in prison before the execution, and nobody knows what happened to Ann Bonny.

Ben Johnson the Renegade.

It is impossible to catalogue all the noteworthy pirates of this period but space must be found to mention Ben Johnson who originally went to sea as a midshipman in an East Indiaman but, being degraded for theft, deserted in the Red Sea in 1750 and entered the pirate fleet of the Sultan of Ormuz of which he was soon appointed Admiral. His success and nationality attracted some two hundred other renegade Englishmen to the flag and his name soon became the terror of the Red Sea. He appears to have acted with most appalling savagery even for those latitudes, and as an instance it may be mentioned that when he took the Island of Omalee, one of the sacred places of the Indian Buddhists, he slaughtered every one of the two thousand priests whom he found there. When he captured an East Indiaman he remembered how he had been degraded in that service and cut the throats of the entire crew. Finally he decided that he had done enough for the Sultan of Ormuz and managed to slip away with one of his best ships, reaching Constantinople a wealthy man and dying in influence and honour at the Sultan's Court.

The Original of Robinson Crusoe.

Although Daniel Defoe put his island somewhere off the coast of Brazil there is no doubting the fact that the story of Robinson Crusoe is founded on the adventures of Alexander Selkirk on the island of Juan Fernandez in the Pacific. Born in 1676 in Fifeshire he got into trouble as a youngster for " indecent conduct in church " and ran away to sea. He always appears to have been a rolling stone and in addition a very difficult shipmate to get on with, constantly quarrelling and bearing badly with discipline. In 1703 he joined Dampier in his semi-exploring, semi-piratical expedition in the Pacific as sailing master to the *Cinque Ports* and quarrelled with the Captain. The ships arriving off the island of Juan Fernandez to water he insisted on being landed with his belongings, and there he stayed for nearly four years, being taken off on January 31st, 1709, by two Bristol privateers, in one of which Dampier was sailing as master. On a cruise of over two years he made quite a comfortable little fortune. His restless spirit would not let him stay long anywhere, however, and the few years that he spent ashore were none too reputable. Finally he shipped on board H.M.S. *Weymouth* as mate and died in this position in 1721 at the age of forty-five.

Barbary Corsairs in the Eighteenth Century.

Meanwhile, although they were not organised in the way they had previously been, the Barbary Corsairs were not idle. The freebooters still maintained their position and no real effort was made to rout them

out, most of the Christian powers paying them some sort of a tribute that persuaded them to prey on their commercial rivals. They had abandoned the galley in favour of the sailing ship, but had ample use for the service of the slaves ashore. The treatment of these slaves appears to have greatly improved in the early days of the eighteenth century. All sorts and conditions of men and women were in slavery together, Cervantes, the author of "Don Quixote," being a slave for five years before he was ransomed for £100 by the Order of the Redemption. This was an order that had been founded at the close of the twelfth century in Paris and had arranged for the ransom or exchange of many thousands of Christian captives. They were principally interested in the French but at the same time they did wonderfully good work, although perhaps on narrow lines.

Transportation.

One of the principal difficulties of early colonial trade was labour. For the average Englishman preferred to stay at home, unless he was one of the daring spirits that followed Drake and men of his calibre, in which case he was far more likely to prefer to remain roving, instead of settling down anywhere ashore. There were a good many emigrants, it is true, but not nearly enough to meet the demand for labour, with the result that the English decided to follow the example of the Portuguese, who had settled the province of Sao Paulo in Brazil with convicts. In the early seventeenth century they started shipping criminals across to the plantations, and Cromwell did the same on a very much larger scale, in addition to sending large numbers of Royalists across to the West Indies. A similar policy was followed after the Restoration. Some of these convicts were sentenced to very long terms and turned out to be excellent citizens, while others gave a lot of trouble, but naturally, when the American colonies secured their independence, the first thing they did was to put an end to this sort of thing, with the result that the British Government had to find new fields and so started the famous system of transportation to Australia.

The Eighteenth Century Smugglers.

Mention has already been made that in the early days the smuggling trade was wool out of the country rather than dutiable goods in, but in the Tudor and Stuart period the levy of tonnage and poundage caused a good deal of running in. Charles II had instituted a patrol of Custom House smacks which were the predecessors of the revenue cutters of a later day. Goods were run in all along the South and East coasts and wool was run out principally from the Romney Marsh, where the quality was famous and always found a market in France and Holland. William III took stronger measures to thwart the smugglers, or "owlers" as they were generally called, partly for the protection of his revenue and partly because he knew that they were carrying on a treasonable correspondence with France. He stationed a number of small men-of-war between the North Foreland and the Isle of Wight and prohibited any person living within fifteen miles of the sea from

buying wool without sureties. Soon afterwards special attention was drawn to the fact that quantities of spirits, especially brandy, were run into Deal from the ships that were generally to be found weather-bound in the Downs, and from that day to this the Deal boatmen, who are among the finest seamen in the country, have had a reputation for smuggling which they appear to have regarded as a very venial offence. William III and Queen Anne also instituted a land force of riding officers and surveyors, their special purpose being the prevention of illegal wool export. Dragoons, who were really mounted infantrymen, were also employed on the preventive service under the orders of these riding officers and generally proved very inefficient.

Laces and Silks.

During the reign of Louis XV France had become the great producer of laces, silks and fine goods, and exported considerable quantities into England. The War of the English Succession put an end to this trade and after the Peace of Ryswick they were heavily taxed as luxuries. The Jacobite sympathisers in England found it suited their ends to encourage the smugglers, both as a means of embarrassing the Government and also as a means of maintaining communication with their friends in France. There was a slight decrease in the early days of George I, but when the Government had its hands full with the wars with France and Spain the impertinence of the runners—or freetraders as they preferred to call themselves—was extraordinary. Only weaklings and inefficients were left for the preventive duties, so that the smugglers would form a powerful cavalcade and ride quite openly through the country, confident that if they met a body of dragoons they would be strong enough to beat them off or, if they were forced into flight, that they could evade the pursuit by strategy. Kipling's Smugglers' Song reads :

> If you wake at midnight and hear a horse's feet,
> Don't go drawing back the blind, or looking in the street,
> Them that asks no questions isn't told a lie.
> Watch the wall my darling, while the Gentlemen go by !
>
> Five and twenty ponies,
> Trotting through the dark—
> Brandy for the Parson,
> 'Baccy for the Clerk ;
> Laces for a lady, letters for a spy,
>
> And watch the wall, my darling, while the Gentlemen go by !

The practice of making the villagers turn to the wall when they heard a cavalcade approaching was more for their own protection, so that they could swear to the authorities that they had not seen the smugglers, than because of any fear the latter had of what the authorities might be able to do to them.

The Patrol of the Narrow Seas.

The Revenue Force was constantly being increased and King's ships were given strict orders to assist the Revenue Officers at every

opportunity—orders which frankly they disliked obeying very much indeed—but still the trouble went on and increased. The heavy duties which William III had imposed were continued by his successors, and history has clearly proved that smuggling only exists when it is worth while and that the quickest way to put an end to it is to reduce the duties. International Law also added to the difficulties of the preventive service, for the English were not the only smugglers at sea, and when they saw the profits that were being made the French commissioned a number of armed luggers who were quite ready and able to beat off the average Revenue sloop in open waters.

The Revenue Sloops.

Whatever may have been the faults of the preventive service—and there is no denying that they were many—it brought into existence a magnificent type of sloop for patrol purposes. These ran up to a hundred tons and over, carried a big sail area and were handled like little tops. The first sloops were hired fishing smacks and it was from this eminently practical and satisfactory rig that their own was evolved. They patrolled practically all round the coast, for there was just as much smuggling in the West as in the Channel, and the Isle of Man with its jealously guarded privileges made an excellent base.

The Revenue Personnel.

The personnel of the Navy at this time was unsatisfactory enough but it was good compared with that of the revenue service, where matters were most unsatisfactory in every particular. The smugglers were so willing to put up a fight that big crews had to be carried and in such small vessels the discomfort was acute. The service had no traditions and the officers generally commissioned into it were not of the best type, or even of a passably good type. One of the hardships was that they had to prosecute their prisoners at their own expense, and not unnaturally they took very good care that they were not out of pocket in the long run. The discipline of the service was very weak and if a commander fulfilled his instructions to hand over troublesome men to the nearest man-of-war for service on board he found that he had great difficulty in filling their places. A very large proportion of both officers and men were hand in glove with the smugglers, who included their own kith and kin. On top of it all the whole countryside was far more in sympathy with the smugglers than with the revenue service, so that they found themselves regarded with the greatest distrust by their friends when they returned to their homes.

The Smuggling Districts.

Reference has been made to the Isle of Man as a smuggling base, and similar advantages were enjoyed by the Channel Islands where there still exists a colossal system of cellars going back to smuggling days. The men of Kent and Sussex were known as the worst of their type, chiefly because they added appalling savagery to their lawlessness. The men of Cornwall were just as bad at smuggling but were far more good-natured over it and in many ways corresponded to the

(Macpherson Collection)

CAPTAIN GEORGE LOWTHER AT PORT MAYO

Originally the second mate of a guineaman, Lowther seized her and soon found himself in command of a considerable pirate fleet on the American coast. Finally, his fleet was dispersed and Lowther shot himself to avoid capture.

CAPTAIN EDWARD ENGLAND

England, who was taken prisoner by a pirate in 1718, decided to join them, and soon made a great name for himself. Finally, his men complained that he was far too lenient to prisoners and marooned him.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE CAPTURE OF SEVERNDROOG, STRONGHOLD OF ANGRIA, THE PIRATE, BY SIR W. JAMES

Angria, the famous Indian pirate, was one of the most blood-thirsty men in his profession, and in the course of three years is said to have murdered over five hundred Englishmen. Finally Sir William James destroyed his stronghold. Angria being shot by one of his own followers.

To the Honorable Corporation of Trinity-House.
This Plate Engraved from a Portrait of Sir William James Bar.t
Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the possession of the Corporation
gratefully inscribed by their most obliged and most humble Servant
J.R. Smith.

(Macpherson Collection)

SIR WILLIAM JAMES, BART., 1721-1783
(Mezzotint by J. R. Smith, after Sir Joshua Reynolds)

The actions at Severndroog and Gherriah rid the Indian Ocean of its greatest scourge, and Sir William James's action was appropriately appreciated by Trinity House.

JOHN PIXLEY OF IPSWICH, SMUGGLER AND CUSTOMS OFFICER
(MEZZOTINT BY L. FABER, AFTER D. MORIER MORY)

Like many others of his time and later, Captain John Pixley contrived to combine the occupations of Customs Officer and smuggler to his own advantage.

accepted picture of the smuggler of romance. The Yorkshiremen imported from Dunkirk and Flushing and the Scots from the Dutch and German coasts.

The 1745 Committee.

By the year 1745 something had to be done. The revenue obtained from Customs duties had dropped alarmingly, while the expenditure at the time was very considerable. The traders of the country who paid duty found that they could not make a living and were constantly complaining bitterly to the Government. In addition it was certain that the Jacobites who rose in that year had kept touch with their friends through the smugglers. Therefore a committee was appointed to enquire into the whole matter. This committee gives us some very interesting information as to the trade of those days, but it did very little towards its suppression. The smugglers had a magnificent intelligence system at home and the very active assistance of the French authorities who saw in their calling an excellent and inexpensive method of hurting England, while at the same time they made money.

The Fishermen's Method.

It must be remembered that most of the South coast smugglers were nominally fishermen operating in big cutter-rigged smacks very much akin in design to the smaller revenue craft. They would leave their fishing ports perfectly openly with small crews and would be met off shore by a number of boats which could slip out without suspicion and from them took the bigger crew necessary for their work, as well as money and such merchandise as they intended to barter. Having collected her foreign cargo the smack returned to the rendezvous, gave the signal and was met by the shore boats again, who took from her the extra men and the smuggled cargo. The smack then returned to port with her original crew and complained what poor fishing she had had. In addition the bigger open boats ran the whole passage themselves, a passage that called for magnificent seamanship and daring. Other open shore boats collected the dutiable goods from incoming merchantmen, the East Indiamen having a specially bad reputation in this respect.

The Deal Smugglers.

The propensity of the Deal boatmen for smuggling has already been mentioned, and it has to be admitted that their audacity makes one forgive many of their sins. There was one party in 1643, for instance, who had captured the Dover Customs House smack, run a cargo of smuggled goods in her across the Channel and then returned her. Not all of their exploits were of this character, however, for on one occasion an East Indiaman anchored in the Downs was betrayed to the famous Swedish privateersman, Cross, a renegade Englishman, by a Deal lugger slipping across the Channel and informing him what a rich prize she would make on account of the money that she had on board. This was not the only occasion on which the smugglers betrayed British ships to the enemy, and in addition there were many murders to their discredit. In an open fight with the preventive officers they naturally fought hard

and if somebody got killed it was only what might have been expected. But taking a man prisoner, binding him so that he could not possibly swim and then dropping him overboard in the middle of the Channel was very different.

The Hawkhurst Gang.

Perhaps the vilest piece of villainy on the part of the smugglers was the history of the Hawkhurst Gang in 1744. Hawkhurst was a Kentish village right inland, but the whole of the county was mixed up in the smuggling business and the gang in this particular neighbourhood was under the command of Kingsmill and Farrall, names which deserve to live in the history of crime. At the end of 1744 they captured a patrol of four revenue officers at Shoreham and carried them to their village where they were flogged mercilessly. Then two were allowed to go, while what happened to the others has always been a mystery. It may have been that they were murdered or it may have been that they were taken across to France and left to explain their business there as well as they could, a favourite habit of the smugglers. Unfortunately the law was too weak to inflict the punishment that should have been received, with the result that little more than two years later they started to terrorise the county and finding offence in something that was said in a neighbouring village they sent warning that they were coming to wipe it out. They tried, but happily they were beaten back with a considerable number of casualties. Shortly afterwards they gathered some other bands together and crossing the country to Poole they attacked the Custom House there and took away all the tea they found. It worked out at rather less than thirty pounds a head, but it must be remembered that in those days tea was a very expensive commodity.

The Sequel to the Poole Outrage.

The attack on the Poole Custom House was entirely successful, but the authorities finally began to move in the matter and finding a shoemaker who could give them information they sent him to Sussex in charge of an aged Custom House officer named Galley. At Rowland's Castle the hostess of the inn, who was in league with the smugglers as a matter of course, gave warning and a party of fourteen descended on the inn and captured the luckless pair. Lashing them to their horses they started to take them to Hawkhurst, and amused themselves on the road by beating them about the head with their whips, considering it hugely diverting when the poor wretches lost consciousness and rolled over head downwards to have their faces kicked by the horses' hoofs. More dead than alive they arrived at the end of their journey, where Galley was buried alive and Chater the shoemaker was again tortured and finally thrown down a well. They then murdered one of their associates whom they accused of having stolen some of the spoil, although as a matter of fact it was in the hiding-place that they themselves had chosen for it. It was a year later that the authorities contrived to make a number of arrests, and finally the whole gang were duly hanged for this and other crimes.

Smuggling in America.

Meanwhile, although it had not attained anything like the proportions of England, there was a good deal of smuggling on the American coast. Americans in general took a very light view of smuggling for they had been forced to carry on most of their trade in the contraband business against the regulations which Spain had made for her West Indian colonies, and the laws of the British Government restricting their trade were treated equally lightly. That was part of their fight for freedom and was certainly not regarded as an offence. When the United States obtained their liberty, however, they had a very empty treasury and naturally the first thing to be done was to put the national finances on a sound basis. Various taxes were instituted and a Customs Tariff started. The duties were not high, but even so the habit of smuggling survived the Revolution and it was found practically impossible to collect anything worth while in this way. Even the best of the New England merchants seemed to have been quite willing to smuggle at least part of their cargoes, and the patriots were very grieved to find how the greater part of the population made no difference between King George's customs and those of the republic.

The Slave Trade.

How the slave trade started owing to the efforts of Hawkyns and despite the forebodings of Queen Elizabeth has already been described, and by the end of the seventeenth century it had attained very considerable proportions. The Royal African Asiento Company had very strong rights in this matter and had a contract to supply the Spanish settlers in the West Indies with slaves. Its depôt was at Kingston, Jamaica, and it did a huge business until its charter was cancelled by the Bill of Rights and the company broken up in 1698. The slave trade was then open and increased rapidly, the morals of the time seeing no harm in it. At first London and Bristol were the great ports and the business was arranged on the scientific principle of a round voyage. To begin with, Liverpool had practically no share in the trade, but the rise of the Lancashire cotton business and the proved superiority of Manchester products over those of France and Germany gave them a much better chance and in 1720 London dropped out. For a time Bristol and Liverpool were in the keenest rivalry but the Mersey port steadily outstripped the Severn and finished up with the cream of the trade. Liverpool slavers were soon able to undersell their rivals by some pounds, although it was suggested that the reason of this was that they paid their servants so little and found their ships so badly. Certain it is that round about 1730 there were quite a large number of Liverpool slavers at sea whose burthen did not average more than seventy-five tons apiece.

The Tragedy of the "Ogden."

There is absolutely nothing that can be said in favour of this trade in Black Ivory except that labour was very necessary for the development of the new lands, but unfortunately those in charge of the business

did not even possess an elementary knowledge of how to make the most of the human material. The mortality was terrible, especially in war time when the slaves not only risked death in their own fights with their captors and in the appalling condition of the slave ships, but also stood very little chance when the slaver was brought to action. This was the case when the *Ogden* of Liverpool in 1747 encountered a Spanish privateer while carrying a cargo of slaves from the West African coast to Liverpool. The crew put up a particularly gallant defence which so incensed the Spaniards that when they finally got possession of their prize they cut the throats of every soul on board, white and black. Of a big company only a few escaped by swimming.

The Price of Slaves.

The price of slaves varied enormously according to the year, the district, and the condition of the wretches. Round about 1760 to 1770 good negroes would fetch anything from £27 to £50, the highest price being paid in the Southern States and especially at the Charleston market. About the same time the freight between the African coast and South Carolina ran to round about five pounds a head of those delivered "in good condition, the danger of the seas and mortality only excepted." In addition there were generally export duties to be paid to the native ruler, frequently estimated in ankers of brandy, gunpowder, guns or iron bars.

The Massacre at Old Calabar.

Of all the innumerable atrocities connected with the slave trade perhaps the worst was the massacre at Old Calabar in 1767. At that time there were several Bristol and Liverpool slavers lying in the Old Calabar River and there was a quarrel going on ashore between the Old Town and the New Town. The slave shipmasters met together to see how this quarrel might be turned to their advantage and accordingly the chief of Old Town was invited to come on board with his principal followers, under promise of protection, in order that matters might be adjusted. They accepted with alacrity but as soon as they were on board, with numerous adherents alongside the ship in canoes, the captain of the *Duke of York*, backed by his crew, attacked his guests, who vainly attempted to escape out of the cabin windows. At the same time their canoe was sunk by gun-fire and other ships dealt with the other canoes in similar fashion. Such fugitives as contrived to reach the shore were immediately dispatched by their native enemies, so that very few even survived to go into slavery. Though this massacre was the worst and most famous of many, it was not by any means alone.

Slavery in England.

There are many stories afloat of slavery in England, and visitors to the Goree in Liverpool have been shown tethering hooks under the colonnade where the slaves were supposed to have been chained. Quite apart from the impossibility on account of date there is little enough foundation for this story. There never was a regular market for native

slaves in England, but there were numerous instances of single slaves, generally paid servants, being advertised for sale and changing hands. The end of this came in 1772, although the question of the status of slaves in England had been discussed by lawyers since 1729. The test case concerned a negro named Somerset, who was lucky in having the advocacy of Granville Sharp. After long discussions Lord Justice Mansfield delivered the famous decision that as soon as a slave set foot on the soil of the British Isles he became free.

The Slavers' Methods.

It must not be thought that the slave trade was entirely a case of white against black, for the principal allies of the slavers were the native potentates on the coast. Every now and again these native rulers would blackmail their customers for higher pay and occasionally fierce fighting took place on this account. As the natives generally insisted on gunpowder and guns in payment of their services and of export dues they were frequently able to put up a very tough fight, although it must be confessed that the trade weapons that they received were generally more dangerous to themselves than to their enemies.

The Build and Fittings of the Slavers.

The slaving ships and the privateers were about the only vessels built in the eighteenth century with speed as a primary consideration, their cargo being somewhat cynically described as " perishable." To take a typical ship of the better type at the end of the period, the famous Liverpool slaver *Brooks* was described officially as follows: Length of lower deck, 100 feet; inside beam, 25 feet; depth of hold, 10 feet; 'tween-deck height, 5 feet 8 inches. The accommodation was divided, the men's room on the lower deck being 46 feet by 25 feet 4 inches, with a six-foot platform running along either side. The boys' room measured 13 feet 9 inches by 25 feet and the women's room 28 feet 6 inches by 23 feet 6 inches, a similar platform in each case. There were 14 air ports to ventilate this ship and she was pierced for 20 guns. Her tonnage was rather less than 300 and she had a crew of 45, while although she was only licensed for 450 slaves the actual number that she carried on one occasion must have been nearly 700. She arrived at Jamaica with 646, and there was always heavy mortality on the passage. For the slaves she carried 20 tons of various grains and pulses, from Indian corn to split beans, two tons of bread, a large number of yams, and a certain amount of fish. From the Gold Coast to the West Indies the passage was reckoned as between 42 and 50 days but very frequently it ran into eight weeks and more. Instances were known of ships losing fifty slaves and more in a single gale, and should the voyage be unduly prolonged and provisions run short it was quite usual simply to throw the slaves overboard to the sharks which always followed the ships and were never disappointed. If a slave ship was wrecked her living cargo was usually left on board, chained as usual, while the crew saved themselves. A very large number of the negroes tried to commit suicide and special efforts were made in the design of the ship to prevent

them jumping overboard, although this very frequently happened. Voluntary starvation was another method by which many found a relief in death.

The Case of the "Zong."

Instances of the appalling brutality of the slavers and the horrors of the slave trade can be multiplied indefinitely, but the case of the *Zong* may suffice. This came out through the Liverpool owners of the ship suing the underwriters in the year 1783 for a number of slaves lost during the passage. It turned out that their cargo was a sickly one and that many had died at sea. The captain and mate therefore came to the conclusion that as, if they died on board, their owner would have to pay for them, while if they committed suicide by jumping overboard the loss would fall to the underwriters, it would be better to get them overboard and accordingly threw into the shark-infested sea over 130 living negroes who looked as though they might fall sick. It may be mentioned that to many of them it was a very happy release and they welcomed the opportunity. Small wonder that often the slaves got desperate and mutinied, although in the great majority of cases of this sort the rising was unsuccessful and where they did succeed in seizing the ship it was all too often to find themselves absolutely unable to handle her and therefore she almost inevitably came to grief. The slave trade was the greatest blot on the history of the sea, and the fact that the great majority of our forefathers took it as a matter of course and saw no harm in it is a vivid illustration of the change in men's mentality.

The Female Pirates, Mary Read and Ann Bonny.

(From an old print in the British Museum)

CHAPTER VI THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY EXPLORERS

Eighteenth Century Exploration.

After the halcyon days of exploration under the Tudors and the necessity of readjusting things after the troubled times that followed them, exploration in the eighteenth century was apt to be a little disappointing from the seaman's point of view, although some noteworthy voyages were carried out. It was essentially a period of consolidation and the improvement of trade, and there was very little new land to be discovered.

Halley's Voyage.

Edmund Halley, the astronomer and one of the foremost scientists of his time, is principally known for the comet named after him, but in August, 1698, he was commissioned as Captain of the *Paramour* to make observations on the subject of terrestial magnetism and to complete the work that he had done twenty years before at St. Helena and other places in the service of the East India Company. This voyage lasted two years and took him down to 52 degrees South, the result being an immense increase in the knowledge of longitude and the variation of the compass. Another result of it was the construction of the first variation chart and a scheme for the discovery of longitude by occultations of six stars. Later he became the Secretary of the Royal Society and finally Astronomer Royal, dying at the good old age of eighty-six after rendering very signal service to seafarers.

Dampier's Australian Voyage.

William Dampier has already been mentioned as a none too reputable character, whose buccaneering was not far removed from piracy; but in 1699 he was rehabilitated and his genuine gifts as a navigator and surveyor recognised, by the command of H.M.S. *Roebuck*, in which he was sent out to discover the land round Australia. He struck the west coast and made the most careful survey of it, but failed to find any good harbour or promise of a good land for settlement. Unfortunately, he did not follow the coast further round, but went up to New Guinea, a large part of whose coast and surroundings he carefully surveyed and charted. He certainly would have done more had it not been for the mutinous spirit of his men, who compelled him to return by way of Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope. At Ascension in February, 1701, his ship, which had been leaking like a basket for the greater part of the voyage, finally foundered, but the men contrived to struggle ashore until they were rescued and brought home by a passing East Indiaman. Dampier's account of the voyage did much good to geography, but unfortunately he was not employed in a similar capacity again and his remaining voyages were as a privateer with Woodes Rogers. He died in March, 1715.

The Hudson's Bay Territory.

In its early days the work of the Hudson's Bay Company was nearly as much exploratory as it was trading, and although in 1670 Prince Rupert had himself fitted out an expedition to map its territories, very

A CHART for the better understanding of the Voyage to the South Sea, wherein are set down the Places mentioned in this Relation, and the Courses going and returning, supposing the first Meridian at Paris reckning thence a West Longitude; the Spherical Lines with Roman Numbers shew the Progression of the Variation from 5 to 5 Degrees towards the N.W. above the Line 0 0 and to the N.E under the same Line. *By Mons.r Frezier, Engineer in Ordinary to the King*

Printed for JONAH BOWYER *at the Signe of the Rose in Ludgate Street 1717.*

(From Frezier's "Voyage to the South Sea, etc." Eng ed. published 1735)

CAPT. WOODES ROGERS' MEN LANDING IN CALIFORNIA, 1710

Captain Woodes Rogers' wonderful voyage round the world, including the rescue of Alexander Selkirk from Juan Fernandez, took the British flag into waters in which it was practically unknown.

(Macpherson Collection)

EDMUND HALLEY, F.R.S., 1656-1742
(Mezzotint by G. White, after Sir Godfrey Kneller.)

Although he is principally known as an astronomer, Halley did splendid work for navigation and made a very noteworthy voyage.

Peter Louis · Moreau de · Maupertuis
Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. One of y.e Six Mathematicians
French King An.o 1736 to measure a Degree of the Meridian at the Polar Circle
& the Earth, and Author of the curious

(Macpherson Collection)

PIERRE MAUPERTUIS, 1698-1759
(Mezzotint by J. Tinney, after Tournière.)

By his part in the French 1736 *Expedition to measure Polar waters, and the account that he published of it, Maupertuis added very greatly to the knowledge of the sea, although he was primarily a mathematician.*

(Macpherson Collection)

WHALE FISHING, *c.* 1750
(From a Mezzotint by J. Willson)

The whale fisheries were a very important part of Britain's commerce at sea in the eighteenth century, both in the North Atlantic and the Pacific.

An Indian of Chili Playing the Game of "El Sueca."

(*From Frezier's "Voyage to the South Sea,"* 1712-1714).

little was done later, largely from a fear of interlopers breaking the company's monopoly in fur trading. Then one Mr. Knight, a man about eighty years old, was appointed Governor of the Nelson River, and tried to carry out an exploration of the waters adjacent to his territory with the *Albany* and *Discovery*, but he was unfortunate and the whole expedition perished in 1719. Three years later John Scroggs was sent out to search for him or his remains, and the report that he brought home caused people to place renewed faith in the belief that there was a North-West passage through Canada to the Pacific. Accordingly the Admiralty fitted out an expedition under Commander Christopher Middleton in the *Discovery* and *Furnace*, which did magnificent work but failed to find the promised passage. After him came a number of explorers, finishing up with Mackenzie in 1789, who gave his name to the mighty river whose mouth he discovered.

The North-West Passage Reward.

Interest in the discovery of the North-West Passage was reawakened in 1745, when an Act was passed offering a reward of £20,000 to anybody who should discover the north-west passage through Hudson Strait. A sum of £10,000 was raised to start an expedition, and two ships, the *Dobbs* and *California*, were bought and fitted out. The committee of the fund appointed Mr. Henry Ellis, who had already had considerable experience of this work, as its agent to go with the expedition, and it was he who made the scientific records, which are still regarded as being of very considerable value. After the return of the expedition no further attempt was made on the passage until during the 18th century, but in the meantime the Hudson Bay Company's servants, on their lawful occasions, added considerably to the knowledge of the north coast of Canada.

Whaling Discoverers.

The whaling industry also had been responsible for extensive discoveries, both by the English and the Dutch, especially round Spitsbergen and the waters to the north of it. In the early days of the 18th century the Dutch opened a whaling fishery in the Davis Strait and did very well there, but the exploratory work that they carried out was not as valuable as it had been in waters further east.

Roggeveen's Voyage.

In 1721 the Dutch West India Company sent Jacob Roggeveen into the Pacific on a voyage of exploration which expanded into a circumnavigation of the globe. He crossed the Pacific from East to West and in the course of his voyage he discovered Easter Island and apparently sighted the outlying groups of the Samoan Archipelago, although he did not pause to examine them carefully or possess himself of them, with the result that the greatest credit goes to his successors. He returned in 1722 after a voyage which considerably increased the world's knowledge of geography.

Antarctic Exploration.

The credit for being the first scientific Antarctic explorer belongs to a French naval officer named Pierre Bouvet, the father of the celebrated Admiral of that name. He set out in 1739 with the deliberate intention of discovering the South lands that had been hazily described in a book purporting to be written by the Sieur de Gonneville, but the results of his expedition were disappointing. He discovered Bouvet Island, it is true, in latitude 54° 10′ South, and contrived to work down to 55° South.

It was not until 1770 that a deliberate attempt was made to penetrate inside the Antarctic Circle. The credit for excellent work belongs to Yves Joseph Kerguelen, who sailed from France in 1771 with orders to search for the continent due south of Mauritius. The land that he found in 50° South he named South France; he believed it to be the centre of the continent, and when he found that it was only an island, he rechristened it the Isle of Revelation. It is now known as Kerguelen, after its discoverer, whose courage and pertinacity well deserved the honour. Cook's work is described later, but after he returned the only valuable discoveries made in the Antarctic were made more or less accidentally by whalers or sealers in the course of their work. All too little credit is given to these explorers by the general public, although their names are frequently perpetuated on the chart.

Russian Explorers.

When the Russians decided that their ancient territory was too small for their needs and pushed out towards the east, they carried on their work with remarkable tenacity until finally they came to the shores of the Pacific. That was a land discovery entirely, but when they got there they commenced a number of canoe and ship expeditions along the Pacific, and especially to the north. At the same time, two Russians in 1748 made a voyage from Archangel along the north coast until they reached the mouths of the Ob and Yenisei. Considering the interest that has recently been aroused in the Kara Sea trading expeditions, it is remarkable that this expedition should have contrived so much at such a very early date. Peter the Great was as enthusiastic on exploration as he was on shipbuilding, and not only sent out numerous purely Russian expeditions but also employed a number of Danes and British, including Bering, who in 1728 proved that there was water between Asia and America. Bering himself did splendid work, both on this and other expeditions, finally being wrecked on the Aleutian Islands and dying there of scurvy in 1741.

Phipps's Expedition.

In the middle of the 18th century Arctic discovery aroused the greatest enthusiasm all over Europe, not only on account of the annexation of new land but also because of such scientific results as might be reached. For this purpose the British Admiralty sent out Captain J. C. Phipps in 1773 with His Majesty's ships *Racehorse* and *Carcass*. He did some useful work north of Spitsbergen, but did not find anything that he had hoped, and his work was not really appreciated until later.

John Byron.

Anson's voyage round the world has been already mentioned on account of its military importance, and cannot well be treated as a voyage of discovery. But in one of his ships which was wrecked, the *Wager,* was a midshipman named the Hon. John Byron. His account of the wreck is one of the finest sea books in literature. Between those days and 1754, when he was destined to take H.M.S. *Dolphin* on a voyage of discovery through the South Seas and to achieve considerable results, he had a long experience of naval warfare. He had extraordinarily bad luck in the matter of weather, so much so that he was always known in the fleet as " Foul Weather Jack," and his grandson, the poet, makes pointed reference to his ill-fortune in this respect.

Wallis and Carteret.

Hard on Byron's heels, Captain Samuel Wallis, R.N., took H.M.S. *Dolphin,* in company with H.M.S. *Swallow,* under Captain Philip Carteret, to complete his work. The ships were separated off Cape Horn, but Wallis discovered Tahiti in the summer of 1767 and returned to England the next year. His consort discovered the Charlotte Islands, the Gloucester Islands, Pitcairn Island, sailed through the straits separating New Britain from New Ireland, and carried out very valuable surveying work among many of the groups that had been already discovered but very imperfectly charted.

Bougainville.

Meanwhile the maritime powers on the Continent had also been carrying out exploration work, perhaps the most noteworthy of their navigators being Louis Antoine de Bougainville. His father intended him for the law, but he soon tired of that and became a musketeer. He contrived to mix his military duties, however, with scientific writing which attracted a good deal of attention, and at the end of the Seven Years' War, when the French authorities decided to establish a colony in the Falkland Islands, he was so enthusiastic that he undertook to carry it out at his own expense. Naturally, the Spaniards viewed the settlement with distrust and the utmost jealousy, and in order to avoid offending them the French abandoned the scheme, making the stipulation, however, that Bougainville should be indemnified for the expense that he had undertaken. At the same time they gave him command of a frigate, and after he had handed over the Falklands to the Spanish he had orders to sail on a voyage of discovery round the world. He reached Tahiti only a few months after Wallis, and then carried out some valuable surveying work among the islands. That was the only voyage of exploration that he carried out, although in the last days of the Bourbon monarchy he projected a Polar expedition. When he died, in 1811, loaded with honours by his compatriots and his emperor, he left a record of achievement that would be hard to beat in its variety.

Captain Cook.

James Cook was a Yorkshireman born in 1728, the son of a farm bailiff, who tried to apprentice him to a haberdasher. The sea called

(Macpherson Collection)

THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK AT OWYHEE, SANDWICH ISLANDS

From an Aquatint inscribed "Drawn on the Spot By Jas. Cleveley; Painted by Jno. Cleveley."

(Macpherson Collection)

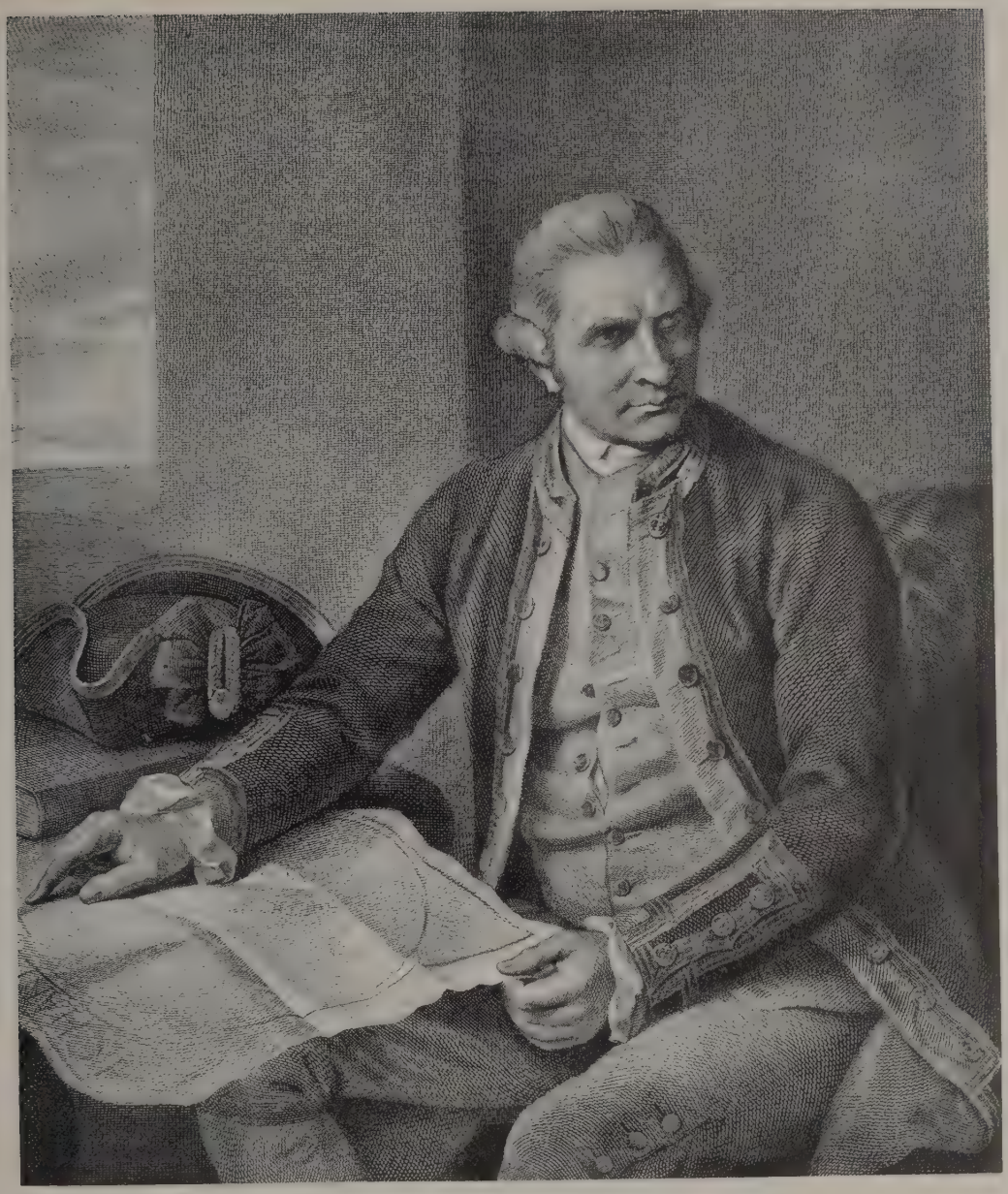
SHIPS SAILING THROUGH THE ICE IN SEARCH OF WHALES, *c.* 1760

Although no British ship in the middle of the eighteenth century was comfortable, none were so hard as the whalers, yet they seldom lacked volunteers.

CAPT. CARTERET TAKING POSSESSION OF ENGLISH COVE

REPAIRING OF CAPT. COOK'S SHIP IN ENDEAVOUR RIVER

Underwater repairs and the necessity of keeping a ship's bottom clean were two of the greatest handicaps of the early explorers, heaving the ship down being a difficult and arduous business.



(Macpherson Collection)

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, 1728-1779
(Engraving by Sherwin, after N. Dance.)

One of the most gifted navigators and indefatigable workers at sea, Captain Cook succeeded in attaining a high position at a date when promotion through the hawse pipe was exceedingly difficult.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE ARRIVAL OF THE "DISCOVERY" AND "RESOLUTION" IN KAMCHATKA, APRIL, 1779.
(AQUATINT BY J. C. STADLER, AFTER J. ECKSTEIN.)

Captain Cook obtained the results by sea that the Russians had contrived overland, the path of both parties being beset with the greatest difficulties.

him, however, and his father bowed to the inevitable and bound him apprentice to a firm of Grimsby shipowners, with whom he served in the Norwegian and coal trades. Having learnt his trade in this, he transferred to the Royal Navy as a navigator—not then a commissioned officer—and having impressed his superiors, he was appointed master to several small craft, which gave him ample opportunity of distinguishing himself. When Quebec was taken he was employed in surveying the river, and did a lot of similar work along the coast of Canada and Newfoundland after the war. His ability in this increased his reputation, so that in 1768 he was employed to conduct an expedition to observe the transit of Venus from Tahiti. For this he was commissioned as a lieutenant, and, having completed the work, he took his ship, the *Endeavour*, in search of the rumoured huge continent in the South Pacific. He thoroughly examined the islands of New Zealand, but was prevented from exploring them ashore by the hostility of the natives. He then went on to Australia, or New Holland as it was then called, and surveyed the whole of the east coast with the greatest care. He gave New South Wales its name, and also most of the prominent features of the coast, but he missed Sydney Harbour, which he regarded as a small inlet only.

Cook's Second Voyage.

Captain Cook's phenomenal success in his first voyage of exploration caused him to be given the command of an expedition which was fitted out almost immediately after his return. It consisted of the *Resolution* and *Adventure*, and sailed from Plymouth in the summer of 1772. He reached New Zealand in safety, and recommenced his search for the South Pacific continent, losing his way among the ice, and finally proving that no such great body of land as was rumoured could possibly exist. He then traced Easter Island correctly on the chart and gave a full description of its extraordinary statues, completely surveyed a number of other islands, and then discovered New Caledonia, Norfolk Island and several other lands of varying size and importance. Crossing to Tierra del Fuego, which he surveyed, he rediscovered South Georgia, and then traversed the South Atlantic to the Cape of Good Hope, disposing of the story of an unknown continent in these waters as well. The advantages accruing from the expedition were colossal, not the least being that by the use of lime-juice he had conquered scurvy and had lost only one man out of a crew of well over a hundred in a voyage of nearly three years. On his return he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, which was a most unusual honour in those days for a man who had entered the Navy through the hawse-pipe.

Cook's Last Voyage.

Cook's discoveries had whetted the appetite of the authorities for more, and he was obviously the man to be entrusted with the command of any expedition. He was therefore sent out by the Government to settle the question of the North-West Passage, as he had settled that of the Southern Continent. He was ordered to attempt to reach it through the Pacific, while other ships attempted to get through from

the Atlantic. His ships on this occasion were the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, and reaching the Pacific by way of the Cape of Good Hope, Tasmania, New Zealand and the Society Islands, he charted a number of islets in the Cook Archipelago, and finally rediscovered the Sandwich Islands or Hawaii, which had been found by the Spaniards but whose existence was kept the closest secret by them. He then reached the mainland and worked steadily up the American coast until his passage was barred by solid ice extending indefinitely. This barrier was really the south-west coast of Alaska, but in the meantime he had explored numerous important inlets in the hope that they would lead him through the continent. He then worked his way back, perfecting his surveys, to the Hawaiian islands, which he christened after his patron, Lord Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty. On the 13th of February, 1779, he was killed by the natives, in attempting to detect the men who had stolen one of his boats. It was a tragic accident for which the natives were genuinely sorry, but by it the sea lost one of its finest and most outstanding characters. In addition to his brilliant exploring work he had the distinction of contriving to make and keep happy ships wherever he went, a thing that was not by any means usual in those days. While he was alive he was often treated very poorly by the Admiralty, but after his death they were willing enough to shower honours on his memory.

CHAPTER VII
THE EXPANSION OF TRADE

Eighteenth-Century Trade.

The period between the years 1697 and 1783 was a very important one from the point of view of trade, a period perhaps excelled only by the nineteenth century. Admittedly it had not the glamour that surrounds the pioneer days of the Tudors and early Stuarts, and on that account is apt to be overlooked by many, but this era of consolidation and steady development was of infinitely greater importance from the national and economic point of view. The vitality of trade during this period is shown by the fact that the constantly recurring wars did not kill it and indeed scarcely sufficed to check it.

The Board of Trade.

The Board of Trade was originally founded under Charles II in 1668, but only became a permanent establishment with definite duties in 1696, when it consisted of the Royal Commission for Inspecting and Improving the Plantations in America and Elsewhere, with appropriate staff for the detail work. It had been discovered that the Board could do very much better work than this, and it materially benefited the whole trade of the United Kingdom to the East as well as to the West. When a Secretary of State was appointed for the Colonies in 1786, its duties with regard to the plantations rapidly disappeared and were replaced by the work of publishing statistical returns concerning trade, Eventually it assumed the regulation of all trade and shipping matters.

The Effect of the Navigation Acts.

The passing of the various Navigation Acts has already been mentioned, but their effects come very prominently into the history of trade during the period under review. In cases such as these history cannot always be regarded from the light of modern experience and dogma, for although the Acts were undoubtedly quite contrary to what is considered advisable in the 20th century, they certainly helped to build up a British merchant marine and a trade to the Colonies. It must be remembered that they had their principal effect when the country was not really capable of standing on its own feet in the matter of trade, but had become accustomed to relying upon mercenary carriers as well as mercenary fighters at sea. The Navigation Acts put these matters to rights, and in so doing probably wrought more good than could have been achieved by any other means. But against this it must be admitted that when they were repealed in the 19th century their end was long overdue.

Scotland.

Before the two crowns were amalgamated, the trade with Scotland had always worked under a very considerable handicap, and the commercial intercourse between the sister kingdoms was surprisingly small. Jealousy was perhaps at the root of it all, and when one made a foreign

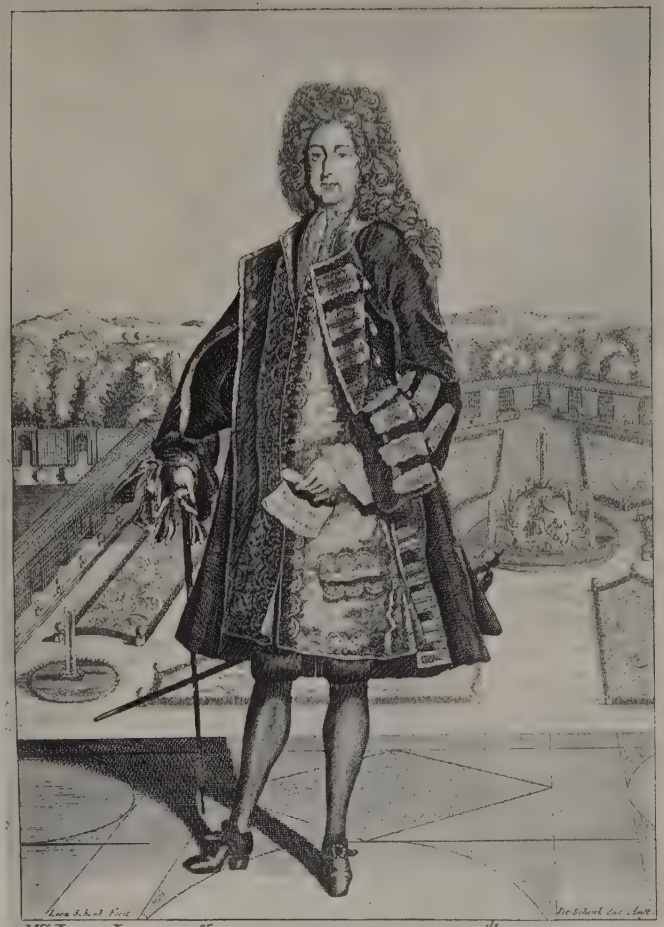
alliance it was generally to the detriment of the other. The union of the two crowns made a huge difference to Scottish trade, principally by opening to her energetic seamen the opportunities of the British colonial possessions. They were not slow to reap full advantage of their chances, commencing with the West India trade, which is still to be seen in the sugar industry of Clydeside, and continuing to the mainland of North America, Canada and Africa.

The Darien Scheme.

The manner in which England was going ahead in the matter of commerce excited a good deal of jealousy in Scotland, and accordingly when William Paterson the economist suggested the Scottish colonisation of the Isthmus of Darien the project was enthusiastically accepted and the whole country was drained to start the expedition. It sailed from Leith in July, 1698, and duly arrived at Darien, nearly 1,200 settlers in all. They chose a well defended spot with good water and every prospect of prosperity. The colony was called New Caledonia, but their Dutch, French and English neighbours all looked on them with disfavour, and disease and internal dissension, coupled with the fact that their provisions had run out, reduced their numbers and soon the few that were left were glad enough to attempt to escape in three small vessels. Meanwhile two more expeditions had left Scotland, six vessels in all, but they were so badly managed and victualled that their people arrived weakened with disease and ill able to defend themselves against a Spanish force which they learned was collecting to attack them. Captain Alexander Campbell, one of the shipmasters who had come out with them, determined that offence was the best defence and accordingly collected two hundred men capable of fighting and, marching across the Isthmus, dispersed a Spanish army some seven or eight times his number. Meanwhile the Spanish fleet had arrived and when he returned to his own headquarters he found the situation hopeless and was lucky to be able to make his escape with a small party. The majority of the settlers were simply wiped out.

The South Sea Bubble.

In the first quarter of the 18th century public attention, and especially commercial attention, was fixed carefully on the South Seas, which were the El Dorado of the age. The idea is generally supposed to have originated with Daniel Defoe the novelist, and it ended in 1711 by the South Sea Company being formed to take over £10,000,000 of the National Debt in return for a monopoly to trade in South America and the South Seas, and receiving at the same time the Spanish concession to take African slaves to the Spanish colonies under the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht. It was anticipated that its profits would be colossal and immediately an extraordinary wave of speculation spread over the country. Bubble companies started everywhere, and political feeling came in strongly so that the Bank of England did everything that it could to wreck the South Sea Company and its offshoots. In 1718 war broke out and would appear to have destroyed



M.r JEAN LAW CON.r DU ROY EN TOUS CES CON.ls CONTROLEUR GNAL DES FINANCES en 1720.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE—PORTRAIT OF JOHN LAW AND A CONTEMPORARY CARICATURE (*c.* 1720)

The failure of John Law's financial schemes in France had the effect of fostering the French Colonial Empire, and brought about the collapse of the South Sea Company. The above cartoon is typical of many produced at the time. The book from which the portrait is taken—Het groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid (The Great Picture of Folly) *contains a large number.*

THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.
(Engraving by J. Carter, after E. M. Ward, R.A.)

The promises of the South Sea Company brought about a craze for speculation such as had never been known before. Every item of news that could possibly have an effect on the market price was eagerly accepted, and the most ridiculous statements were regarded as the straight road to fortune.

Facies Civitatis GLASCOW ab Austro. — *The prospect of the Town of GLASGOW from ye South*

(Macpherson Collection)

GLASGOW, c. 1720.

The manner in which Glasgow has been made into a prosperous seaport in spite of every natural difficulty is one of the wonders of commerce. The picture of the town in 1720 shows how small the river was.

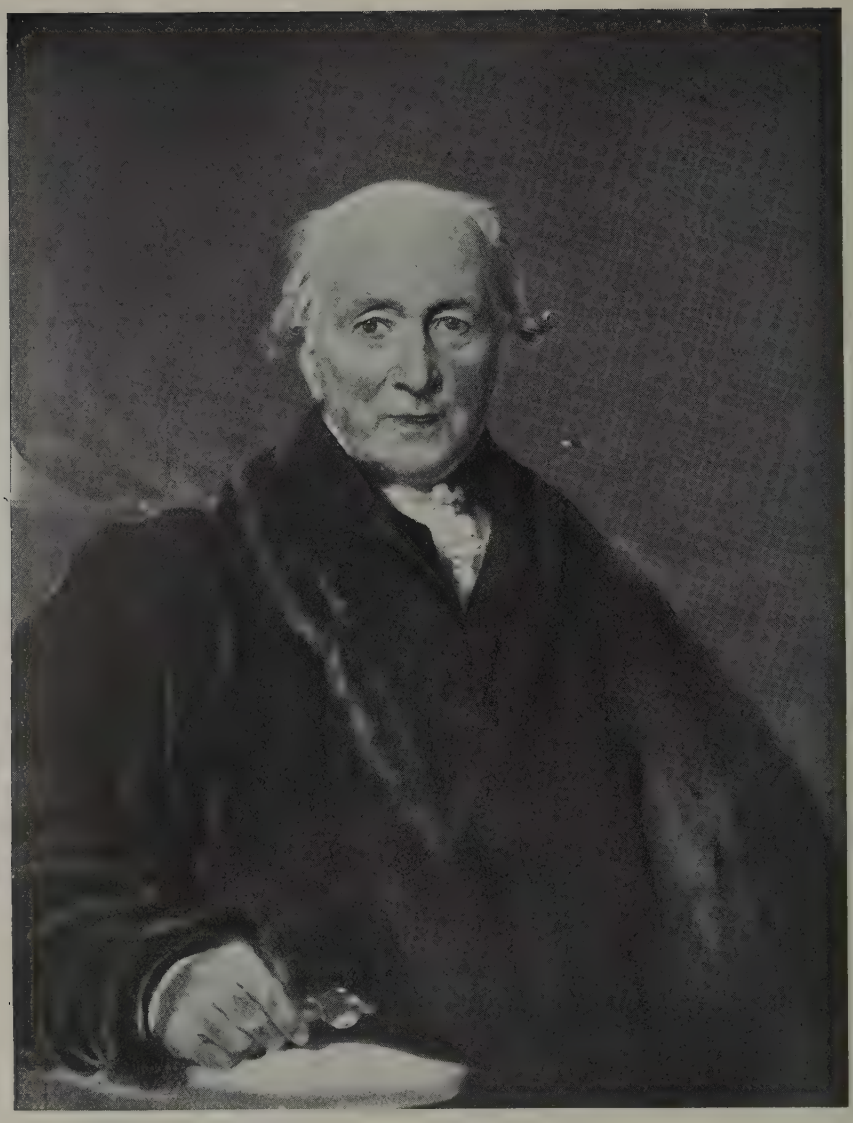
(Macpherson Collection)

THE PROSPECT OF THE TOWN OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE FROM THE SOUTH, 1724

Principally owing to the coal trade, the town of Newcastle was flourishing at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF LONDON
(Engraving by T. Bowles, published 1746.)

Old London Bridge with its narrow waterways effectively choking the river, the Pool below it was one of the busiest parts of the Thames in the middle of the eighteenth century.
(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker.)



JOHN JULIUS ANGERSTEIN
(From the Painting by Sir T. Lawrence)

Originally a merchant with big interests in Russia, Angerstein was the founder of the modern Lloyd's, and also of the National Gallery.
(By courtesy of the Corporation of Lloyd's.)

(Macpherson Collection)

THE HON. DUDLEY WOODBRIDGE
(MEZZOTINT BY JOHN SMITH, AFTER SIR GODFREY KNELLER)

Woodbridge was Director-General of the Royal Assiento Company which, while it did much to encourage the trade to West Africa and the West Indies, also did much to perpetuate the slave trade.

LLOYD'S COFFEE-HOUSE

The necessity of marine insurance men getting the first information of anything that happened at sea, and of their being accessible to brokers, was the reason of their finding a convenient meeting place [illegible] Lloyd's Coffee House.

(By courtesy of the Corporation of Lloyd's.)

its chances of profit entirely, but it continued to prosper for the time and the King became its Governor. It had done well enough till then to prompt its sponsors to more ambitious schemes, and accordingly it was suggested to take over the whole of the National Debt and to pay £3,000,500 for it. The company hoped that the pensioners of the Government would take up South Sea stock in exchange for their claims, that stock then standing at a very big premium. Then the Bank of England stepped in with a higher bid and eventually instead of £3,000,500 the company had to pay over £7,500,000. On top of this handicap came the financial panic in France, but the company pursued its schemes and the stock steadily rose. The crash came through the scores of other companies that had grown up in imitation of the main scheme. There never had been such a commercial collapse in the history of the country, and naturally scapegoats had to be found, both political and otherwise. This, however, was not the end of the company, as often supposed; its concessions were still valuable and the last remnants of the scheme lasted until the 'fifties of the 19th century.

Early Marine Insurance.

The beginning of marine insurance is wrapped in mystery, but it was certainly practised in a fully organised condition at the heyday of the Hanseatic League, and the practice of general average, or the payment by all parties for goods sacrificed for the benefit of the whole, was certainly in existence in the middle of the 16th century. In 1601 it was regulated on remarkably modern lines by an Act of Queen Elizabeth, the preamble of which stated that it had been practised from time immemorial amongst merchants both of this realm and of other nations. The early insurance policies show that the underwriters established themselves wherever it suited them and the broker had to find them; but, like most industries, they soon began to find their way into convenient centres, with the result that marine insurance in London collected round one coffee house.

The Beginning of Lloyd's.

Edward Lloyd's coffee house was first mentioned in Tower Street, London, in February, 1688, and at that time it was obviously the popular meeting place for merchants and shippers for the conduct of all their business. Ships and merchandise were sold there and enquiries made, so that it was only natural that it should become the rendezvous for the insurance market. In 1692 it was moved to Lombard Street, then the chief business thoroughfare in London, and here the business was greatly enlarged and "Lloyd's News" established. This venture did not last very long on account of a political slight which the party in power professed to find in its columns, but soon afterwards it was revived as Lloyd's List, which exists to-day and is indispensable to everybody connected with shipping. The early files of this paper contain fascinating items of shipping history, and it is obvious that at quite an early date efforts were made to collect intelligence which would be useful to shipowners and insurance men. Frequently this led to Lloyd's hearing of

British victories or important events abroad before even the Government, and they were on more than one occasion thanked for passing on the information.

The Public Marine Insurance Office.

In 1716 a suggestion was made that marine insurance should be made a public concern and a project incorporated with a capital of one or two millions. The project was revived in 1718, at the height of the South Sea excitement, when it was declared that there was not sufficient private energy or capital to carry on the business of marine insurance and that it should be properly incorporated under the wing of the Government. Naturally the existing underwriters pointed out that the creation of such a monopoly would lead to delay or even absolute refusal to insure ships at critical moments, while the underwriters of London, who were already loosely connected by the bonds of their meeting place, were sufficiently independent of one another to maintain the business in any circumstances. After exhaustive enquiries into the subject the authorities were inclined to accept this view. In June, 1720, however, the London Assurance Corporation and the Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation were duly chartered under Royal favour and with powerful backing. The fact that the noble backers of these companies were willing to pay £600,000 towards the Civil List may have had a good deal to do with the granting of the charters. By these the two companies were given the monopoly of marine insurance apart from private underwriters. No sooner were the charters granted than the companies found themselves unable to pay the large sum towards the Civil List that they had promised, principally on account of the panic caused by the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, and there was a lot of trouble on this score.

The Survey and Register of Ships.

The Survey and Register of Ships, which is at present undertaken by Lloyd's Register of Shipping, an organisation quite apart from the Corporation of Lloyd's, was originally undertaken by private interests connected with the insurance world. In the middle of the 18th century it was recorded that " George Hayley, the first underwriter of this policy, and among other persons by whom policies of insurance are underwritten, keep a register in which all ships usually insured by them are entered, with an account of the age, construction and visible goodness of the vessels and to whom they belong; that they also employ a surveyor, whose business it is to survey such ships, and the ship in question, at the time of the underwriting of the policy, and long before, had been entered in such register, and previous to her last outward bound voyage had been surveyed by one Thomas Whitewood, who was then employed by the said George Hayley and other writers as such surveyor." As a result of this report the insurance of the ship was bound to depend upon the surveys made by the underwriters.

The Reorganisation of Lloyd's.

It was when the growing business of shipping and marine insurance rendered it necessary to collect the various interests in one convenient

spot that Mr. Julius Angerstein, a prosperous merchant and one of the most prominent figures in the coffee house, though now remembered chiefly as the originator of the National Gallery, was asked to take the lead. He was born in St. Petersburg in 1735, and was thus still quite a young man when he succeeded in thoroughly organising the corporation of Lloyd's and finding it the premises in the Royal Exchange, which it is only now preparing to vacate. Many other people had previously tried and had failed to perform anything which could be described as permanent. Before he achieved this, Lloyd's had moved from Lombard Street and had occupied various temporary premises, finally securing their quarters in the north-west corner of the Royal Exchange in 1773, at what now appears to be the exceedingly moderate rent of £180 a year. From that date the corporation has never looked back; its activities are now world-wide and cover very much more than the original narrow field of marine insurance.

The Monopoly of the East India Company.

In 1693 a new charter was granted to the East India Company, giving them added protection against interlopers of all nations, British as well as foreign, but immediately afterwards the " New East India Company " was permitted to be formed in return for a loan of two million pounds. In 1708 the two companies amalgamated and increased their capital, but although this permitted them to put up a fund against their foreign competitors, it must be admitted that the strongly protective policy was not a wise one and that all sorts of abuses grew up under it.

The Hire of East Indiamen.

The method of chartering tonnage to the East India Company was peculiar, for since its earliest days the Company had owned very little tonnage of its own, but had relied for its supply upon outside sources. These outside sources were frequently the individual directors of the company, and this system naturally led to many abuses. As the supply of ships big and strong enough for the purposes of the trade was strictly limited, those who could provide them could ask for any price they liked, especially when they were directors of the company. The age was corrupt all round and everybody was trying to fleece his neighbour with tolerably good effect. In 1708 a by-law was passed to prevent directors from having any interest in the ships that were hired by the company, and all tonnage was to be chartered by open tender. The shipowners were described as ship's husbands, and until prohibited by this same by-law they had been in the habit of selling the position of captain, and had often got as much as £10,000 for it. The captain, being allowed certain very valuable privileges by the company, soon got this sum back and a good deal more in addition, and after a time the post became a sort of freehold which the captain could either sell when he retired or leave to his heirs, who might not be capable of navigating a ship. In addition to generous pay and entertaining allowance, he was allowed to export 50 tons of his own goods without charge, only certain commodities being prohibited by the company. Homeward bound he

had 20 tons, but on the goods that he carried he had to pay certain dues to his employers. However, as freight to or from India ran to about £25 a ton, he could well afford these charges. In addition, he was allowed to let his own quarters to passengers and pocket the fares, so that very often he would make £10,000 and even more on a single voyage.

These figures make the position of captain of an East Indiaman sound a very tempting one, but after a time the company made certain conditions before granting the command. A man must have made three voyages to the East, one as fifth or sixth mate, one as third or fourth, and one as second or chief, so that he would have had a certain amount of sea experience, although he might be in no way fitted to command a ship.

Fares to the East.

Fares to the East were strictly graded by the regulations of the company, whose guiding principle seemed to be the rank of the traveller. Thus, a subaltern in the Company's service had to pay nearly £100, while a general paid £235. This fare included a vast amount of baggage, but the traveller was forced to furnish his cabin and provide his own bedding and comforts. As to how long the voyage would take, nobody knew and least of all the company.

The Crews of the East Indiamen.

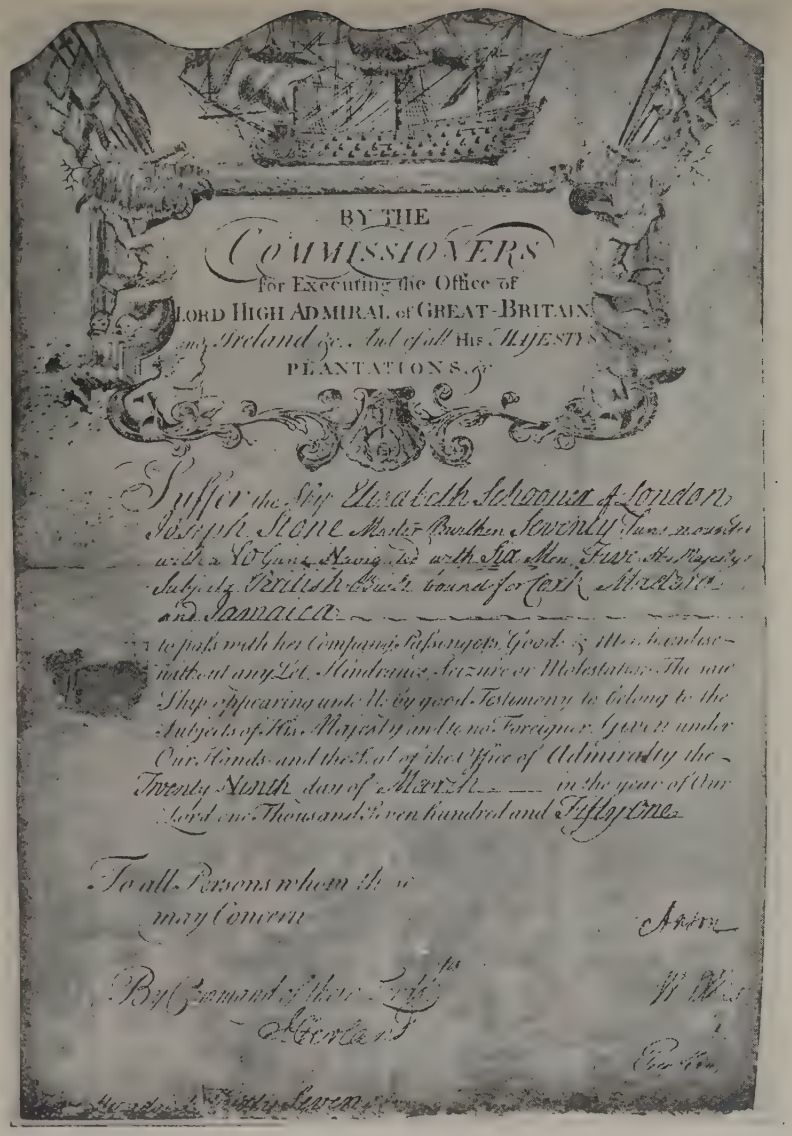
Although the Indiamen were probably manned better than any other ships sailing out of British ports, excluding always the slavers and the privateers, they had constant difficulty in the matter of their men. To begin with, there was the fact that there were so few skilled seamen in the country, then there was the fact that the Press Gang was invariably active and robbed them of all their best men; and finally the loss by sickness was colossal. Many of the desertions in Indian ports were made up with deserters from the company's army, who had to learn their trade at sea on the way home, just as so many of the seamen of the day had to learn theirs on the way out. In spite of the standing of the company the proportion of East India seamen who were "shanghaied" and shipped on board the company's ships while drugged was very considerable.

The Finances of the East India Company.

As was perhaps natural with a somewhat loose corporation of individual interests, the finances of the East India Company were constantly the subject of discussion, and once or twice the subject grew into a big scandal. From the profits of the voyages that they were making one would have thought that all through the 18th century the company was in a very good position to pay the Government all that it had contracted to. But, instead of this, in 1772 they had to ask remission of their contributions, and at the same time for a loan of a million pounds. This was granted in the following year, but at the same time the India Acts were passed which put a stop to a large number of the scandalous leaks that were sapping the finances of the company. The East India

(Macpherson Collection)

NAPLES: THE CASTELLO NUOVO AND PART OF THE MOLE
By Paul Sandby, R.A.

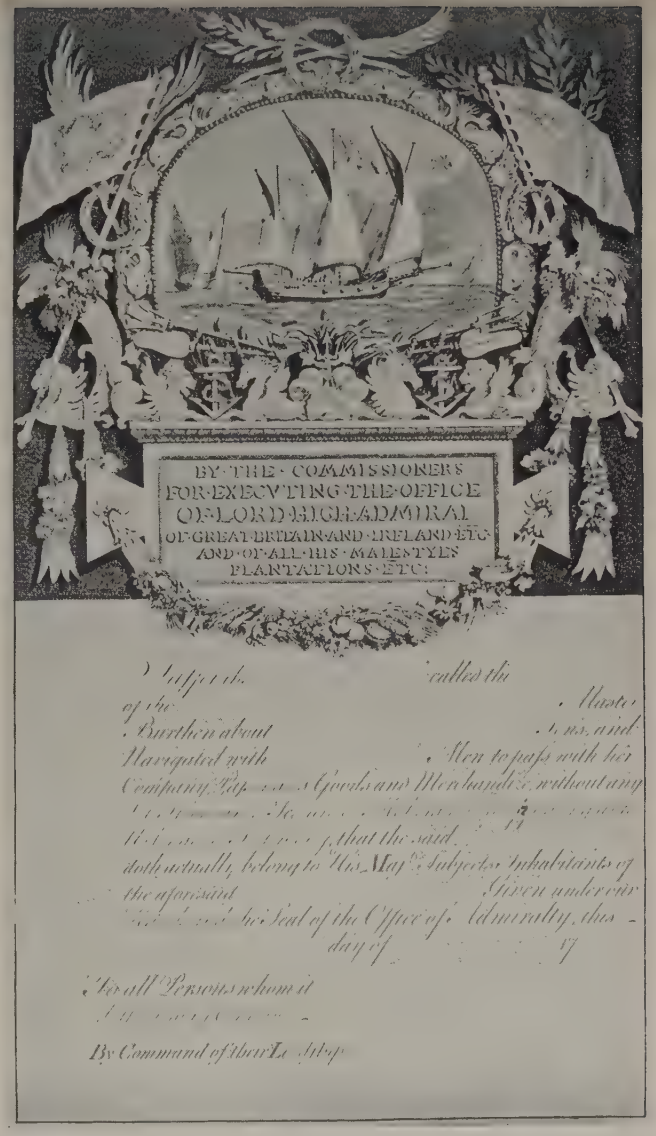

BY THE
COMMISSIONERS
for Executing the Office of
LORD HIGH ADMIRAL of GREAT-BRITAIN
and Ireland &c. And of all His MAJESTYS
PLANTATIONS &c.

Suffer the Ship Elizabeth Schooner of London
Joseph Stone Master Burthen Seventy Tons mounted
with 2 Guns Navig.d with Six Men Your Majestys
Subjects British built bound for York Madeira
and Jamaica
to pass with her Company Passengers Goods & Merchandize
without any Let Hindrance Seizure or Molestation. The said
Ship appearing unto Us by good Testimony to belong to the
Subjects of His Majesty and to no Foreigner. Given under
Our Hands and the Seal of the Office of Admiralty the
Twenty Ninth day of March in the year of Our
Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty One

To all Persons whom it
may Concern

By Command of their Lo.ps
Hervey

Anson
W. Ward
Ed. Fox


BY THE COMMISSIONERS
FOR EXECVTING THE OFFICE
OF LORD HIGH ADMIRAL
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND ETC
AND OF ALL HIS MAJESTYES
PLANTATIONS ETC:

To all Persons whom it
shall Concern

By Command of their Lo.ps

(Macpherson Collection)

ADMIRALTY PASSPORTS FOR MERCHANT VESSELS

The signature Anson on the passport issued to the Elizabeth *is of course that of the famous Lord Anson, who became First Lord of the Admiralty in that year.*

(Macpherson Collection)

THE PORT OF DUBLIN.
(Engraving by Giles King, after Painting by Wm. Jones, Dublin, 1745)

This print clearly shows the beginning of the modern harbour works.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE PORT OF MARSEILLES, 1760
(Engraving by C. N. Cochin, Fils, and J. Ph. Le Bas, 1760)

Well protected and generously favoured by nature, the Port of Marseilles continued to thrive through all the wars in which France engaged

(Macpherson Collection)

CAPE TOWN AND TABLE MOUNTAIN, *c.* 1750.
(Mezzotint by E. Kirkall)

Although the Dutch administered South Africa very broad-mindedly in the eighteenth century, it was too valuable a station on the road to India to be left unmolested when they threw in their lot with the French.

LORD CLIVE
(Mezzotint by J. McArdell, after T. Gainsborough, R.A.)

By his great conquests and unlimited energy Clive greatly augmented the possibilities of the East India Company.
(From a print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker.)

(Macpherson Collection)

BOMBAY, *circa* 1750
(Engraving by Van der Gucht)

Bombay continued to be the most important trading post of the East India Company, where all sorts and conditions of ships could be seen collected.

THE "SUFFOLK" AND OTHER EAST INDIAMEN BEATING OFF FRENCH SHIPS OF WAR, 1757

In this action three of the East India Company's ships, the Suffolk, *the* Houghton *and the* Godolphin *pluckily resisted an attack by the* Illustre, 74 *guns, and the* Balcine, 36, *which were successfully beaten off.*

(Macpherson Collection)

WARREN HASTINGS, 1732-1818
(MEZZOTINT BY T. WATSON, AFTER SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS)

Although known principally as an administrator, Warren Hastings' attitude towards trade was of immense benefit to the East India Company.

fleet cost the company enough, but the waste at sea was as nothing to the waste on land, and by this Act the Government got an effectual say in the control of the company's affairs, especially where they concerned their territories in India.

The China Trade.

In 1773 the charter of the East India Company was reviewed and made to include the China trade as well as the Indian. The monopoly of such a growing trade was, needless to say, extremely valuable and, had it been run on economical lines, there is no doubt that it would have put them outside all financial care. Unfortunately their methods were so wasteful that it was estimated that they paid a good 50 per cent. more freight for each ton of cargo from China than they need have done. Even the increase in the size and efficiency of the East Indiamen that was brought in by the necessities of the China tea trade could not compensate for such a waste; but as each of the directors of the company appears to have been comfortably feathering his own nest and looking after his young relatives, it was not in anybody's interest to point out a better system. Collecting cargoes in China took some time, and it was the custom during the whole of the 18th century to unrig the Indiamen completely as soon as they got into Chinese waters and to make them ship-shape again when they had received their cargo and were ready to return to England. One of the most striking features about the East India trade at this time was the leisurely movements of the ships employed; time appeared to be the very last consideration worthy of notice.

The Tea Trade.

The first overseas importation of tea into England occurred in 1667, but it only weighed rather less than a hundredweight. In Queen Anne's reign tea had become very popular, although it was exceedingly expensive for, in addition to the original cost, there was a heavy customs duty to be paid. Tea, however, was a very favourite commodity with smugglers. The cheaper varieties were smuggled in from Holland, for the Dutch imported anything that could be described as tea, whereas the East Indiamen mostly confined themselves to the superior blends. The British East Indiamen themselves were not above smuggling, and it was a constant complaint against the company that they did very little to stop the custom, which was universal throughout their service. The progress of an East Indiaman up channel at the end of a voyage was quite leisurely, and she frequently anchored for some time in the Downs, so that revenue cutters were told off to keep a very close eye on her because of the amount of dutiable goods dropped into the hovelling luggers that always swarmed round her. When one considers the conditions on board some of the early East Indiamen, it is a wonder that the tea arrived in anything like marketable condition, and it was indeed the profit to be made in this particular trade that caused the ships of the company to be built both faster and more seaworthy. By the middle of the 18th century huge quantities were being imported, but smuggling increased in proportion.

Foreign East India Companies.

The Dutch and French East India Companies have already been mentioned, but towards the end of the 18th century both were in pretty bad condition. The Dutch contrived to struggle on, but the French Company was wound up in 1790. The Danish East India Company, which was nearly as old as the British, was not doing well, while the Spanish Company, which had been specially founded in 1743 to trade with the Philippines, was existing principally on the strongly protective laws of the islands. The Emperor of Austria had founded the Austrian East India Company in 1723, but after flourishing for some time this also fell on evil days, and in 1785 failed for a huge amount. Only the English contrived to keep its head well above water, and even its prospects were often exceedingly gloomy.

The Newfoundland Fisheries.

A very important branch of British trade throughout the 18th century was the fishing industry of Newfoundland and the Grand Banks, which had already proved itself a sore bone of contention between the British and the French. To begin with, the English had practically the entire rights, including an indefinite suzerainty, over the surrounding seas. Then the French contrived to get a foothold and gradually took over quite a considerable part of the coast, fortifying it and administering it as a French colony. At one time they had the whole, but by the Treaty of Utrecht their rights were confined to catching fish and to drying them on the land only in that part of the island of Newfoundland from Cape Bona Vista to the northern part of the said island and from thence down the western side to Point Riche. Unfortunately, they were not agreed as to where Point Riche actually lay—there was 180 miles difference in the estimates—with the result that fighting was common. A large number of Irish labourers were also taken over to the fisheries, who contrived to quarrel with the French just as much as the English. There can be no doubt that the French used their fishing privileges for smuggling, just as St. Pierre Miquelon is used for that purpose to-day. But the regulations which the British made to put a stop to it so irritated the Newfoundlanders that there was every chance of their declaring their independence at the same time as the New England states. However, there was plenty in the industry for all, and in spite of the bickering it continued to grow, extending to Labrador and the Canadian salmon fishery, so that eventually it began to achieve tremendous importance, at least in the eyes of those at home, and was a magnificent training ground for prime seamen if only they could have been persuaded to serve in overseas commerce or the Navy.

Emigration into America.

It is customary to regard the pioneer states of the Union as having been entirely English in people, but investigation proves this to have been far from the case. To begin with there was, of course, a strong sprinkling, both in North America and the West Indies, of colonists who had come out as " indented " labour from England. Crimps and kid-

nappers were common, and although some labourers bound themselves to work on the plantations for a term of years with their eyes open, there were many others who were kidnapped in the streets or " shanghaied " when they were in liquor. Even the more reputable settlers frequently landed penniless and were forced to work out their passage money in semi-slavery, many of them never regaining their freedom, while many " indenteds " decided to stay on in their new land of their own free-will. In addition to these, however, and to the numerous convicted felons who were transported to the colonies and who made their home there, either after their escape or at the end of their sentences, the organised immigration into New England included large numbers from Germany, Holland, Ireland, Wales and Scotland.

The American Contraband Trade.

From the earliest days of the American colonies right down to the Prohibition era of to-day, contraband has always had a very important part in American trade. In the early days, owing to the narrow-minded policy of all European nations, the American merchants were practically bound to indulge in contraband if they were to earn a living, the West Indian islands particularly being their happy hunting ground. As early as 1717 they obtained access to the French West Indian markets, but others were far longer in coming. After the War of American Independence it was only natural that efforts should be made to tighten up the protective regulations of the British colonies, but when the American merchants and the colonists both wanted to trade it was not difficult to get over these. The general routine was for an American ship laden with codfish to put into a Jamaican port in distress, when the officials immediately gave her permission to land her cargo in order that it should not spoil and in order to feed the starving population. Jamaica had a very nice taste in codfish, and the American taste for rum formed a very good exchange.

New England Trade.

The real reason of the War of American Independence was that the Pilgrim Fathers had elected to land on the Massachusetts coast, where they had but little opportunity of living on the land. They had therefore been forced to live by trade and had made themselves, by their energy and strict attention to business, one of the greatest maritime nations in the world, taking into consideration the small population. Most of the grievances that the colonies had against England were connected with the sea, and it was owing to this that Boston in particular and Massachusetts in general became the headquarters of the feeling against the English Government. Before the Peace of Utrecht the New England trade had been very largely in fish caught by their own boats. Afterwards, however, there was a big difference, and New England became a real trading coast. This trade was both legal and illegal ; anything was within reach of the fine ships that were being built at the time. The English authorities knew perfectly well that a large part of this trade was illegal, but at that time they had the common-sense to leave well

alone what they knew they could not rectify. A later and more short-sighted generation, however, thought everything could be regulated from thousands of miles away, and the War of Independence resulted. The freedom thus obtained was not everything that could be desired to begin with, for the profitable markets for New England fish in the British West Indies were lost, and American shipping had been cut until it was only a shadow of its former self. In addition, the craze for luxuries which appears to follow every big war hit the steady merchants hard, although of course it made fortunes for others, and it was some years after her freedom had been recognised that America was able to take the same place in the trading world that she had occupied as a British colony.

The New England Whaling Industry.

As long as whales were pursued in the old way, the New England fleets, especially those from Nantucket and New Bedford, were famous all over the world. Stranded whales had been sought and cut up as long as there were American colonies; but it was not until 1715 that a Nantucket merchant fitted out a ship specially to pursue the sperm whales and tow them ashore for treatment. Cape Cod was a little before this, but the whalers' methods in those waters were not so elaborate, nor did they venture so far off shore. Soon after this the Nantucket men learned to erect brick-built try-works on board their ships, and by this means managed to cut up and treat their catch far out at sea. The industry was in a very flourishing condition when the War of Independence broke out; at the end of it it was practically defunct for the time being for the slow-sailing whaler and her valuable cargo made a tempting and easy bait for British privateers and cruisers.

American Trade.

The American Colonies began to build up a merchant service very early in their career, principally to carry the surplus fish caught on the New England coasts and Grand Banks to profitable markets in the West Indies and in Europe, this rapidly developing into a general trade. One of the first things they did was to improve on the ordinary European ship model, with the result that their ships were handy and weatherly and, in time of emergency, made excellent privateers or smugglers. The timber of the New England States was all that could be desired for shipbuilding, and the colonies took very full advantage of it. When the Spaniards or French closed their colonial markets against the colonists, they promptly turned their attention to the contraband trade, and by their determination and the excellent quality of their fish, contrived to do very well at it. Their principal trade, however, was with England, and it was the closing of the English markets against them that hit them so hard after they had secured their independence—until they managed to wedge their way in it looked in fact as though the infant states would be starved out. They suffered so badly from the protective measures of Britain and other countries that it is difficult to understand how they came to be converted so quickly to a protective policy of their own, a policy which did their shipping little good and infinite harm.

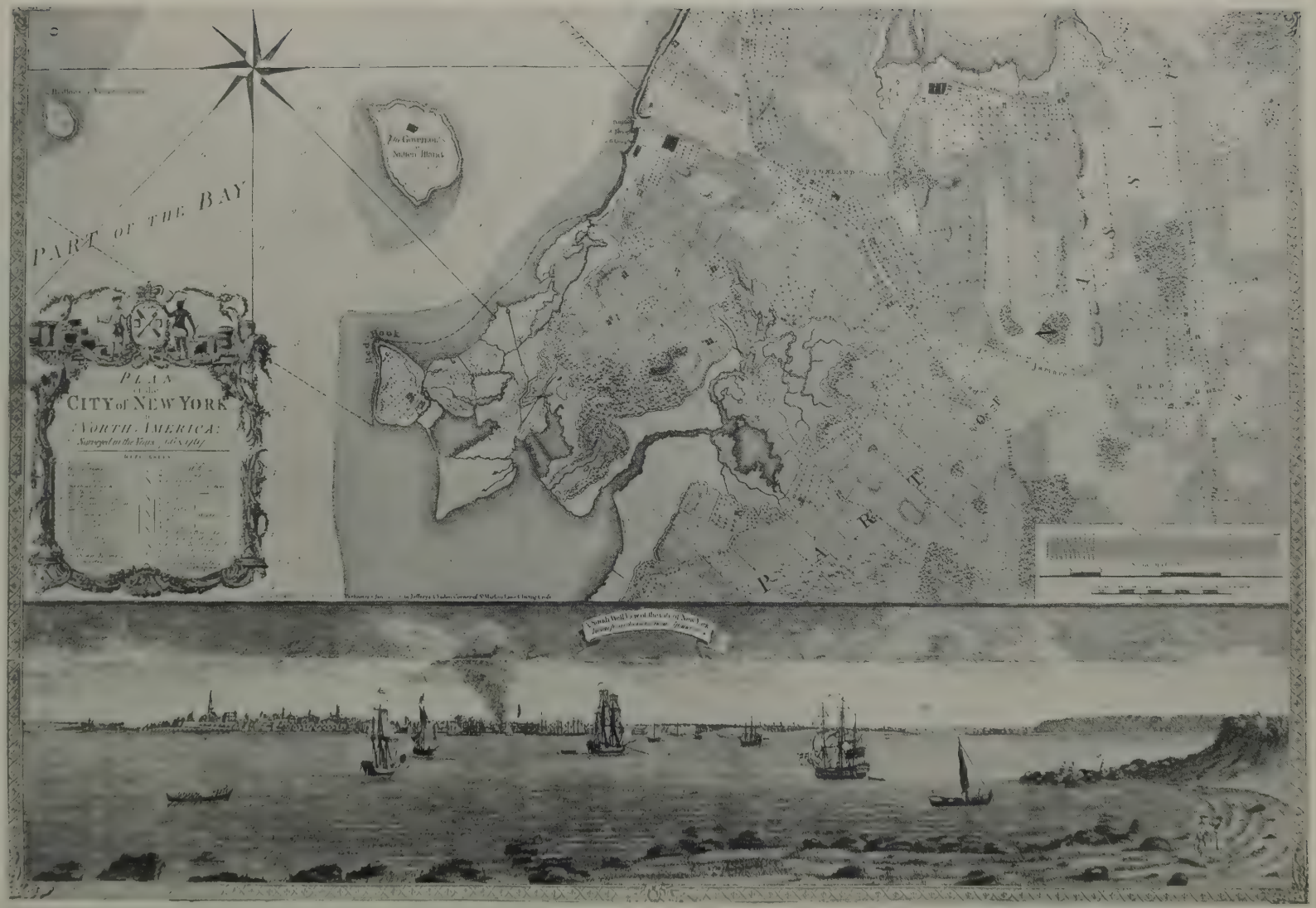
(Macpherson Collection)

CALCUTTA: THE OLD FORT AND BLACK HOLE MONUMENT
AQUATINT BY T. DANIELL, 1786.

(Macpherson Collection)

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA
(Engraving by Mason, after Serres, published 1764)

The value of Halifax as an ice free port was recognised early in the commercial development of British North America.



(Macpherson Collection)

PLAN AND VIEW OF NEW YORK, ABOUT 1766
(From an Engraving published in London, 1776)

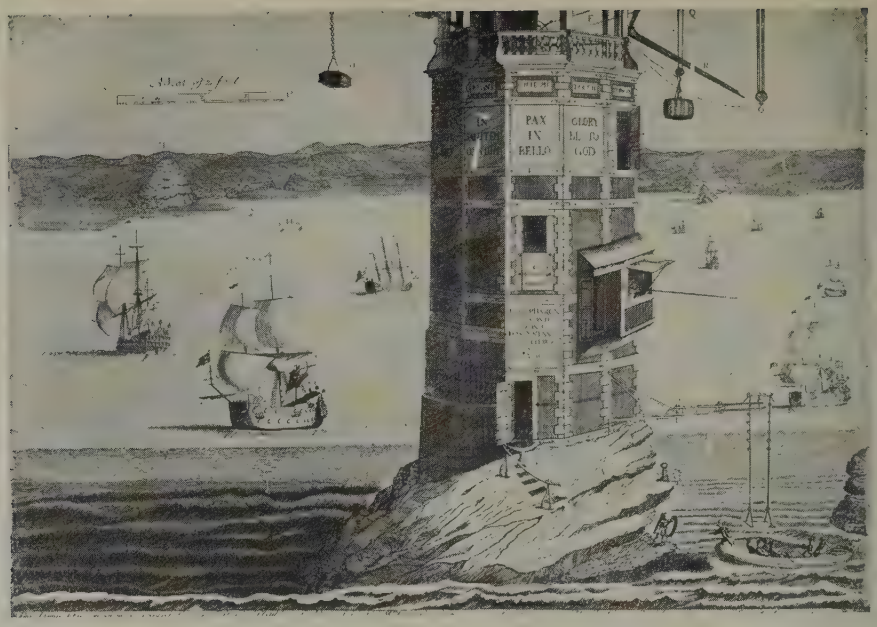
Despite its obvious strategic and commercial importance, New York developed comparatively slowly until well into the nineteenth century.

A true Perspective View of the CITY of PHILADELPHIA, in the PROVINCE of PENSYLVANIA in NORTH AMERICA taken from the JERSEY Shore
Printed for and Sold by CARINGTON BOWLES, at his Map & Print Warehouse, N°69 in S.t Pauls Church Yard LONDON. Published as the Act directs, 1 Jan.y 1778.

(Macpherson Collection)

PHILADELPHIA, *c.* 1777.

Founded by the Quakers, Philadelphia prospered greatly as a commercial city. The engraving shows several interesting ship types, including the two-masted Chesapeake Bay, "leg-of-mutton" sail boat to the right of the windmill.



THE FIRST EDDYSTONE LIGHTHOUSE, 1698-1703

The first Eddystone lighthouse, built of wood from the designs of Winstanley, an ingenious but eccentric mercer, was completed in 1698, *and was swept away in a furious gale five years later.*

(Macpherson Collection)

THE CUSTOM HOUSE, LONDON, 1724

Early in the 18*th Century the Custom House was in the midst of the trade of the Port of London, instead of being at the extreme end of it, as it is now.*

The West Indian Trade.

The trade of the West Indian Islands was one of the most profitable in the British Empire and every effort was made to protect it. The English Colonists there were excessively jealous of their privileges and in the early 18th century attempted to get a Bill passed through Parliament which prohibited the importation into British North America of sugar, rum or molasses which was not of British origin, the punishment for the offence to be the forfeiture of ship and cargo in precisely the manner laid down in the Spanish regulations of which we had complained so bitterly. The logic of this struck the House of Lords, who threw out the Bill, but in 1733 a modified Act was passed on a similar scheme without, however, providing for the forfeiture. In order to get this Act passed it had to be admitted that our foreign competitors had passed Great Britain both in the quality of their sugar and in their ability to carry goods cheaply. In 1749 the shipowners proposed a still more drastic measure of shipping protection, which was partially adopted. It was unwise and short-sighted legislation of this sort, put through at the same time that we were protesting against protective measures by other countries, that caused infinite trouble and had much to do with the dissatisfaction of the American colonists, although many found it beneficial by making smuggling profitable.

The Effect of Privateers.

British shipping has always suffered from the operations of enemy corsairs, especially French, but their efforts were a comparatively known quantity. Further afield, the privateers that the rebel colonists commissioned in the War of American Independence immediately caused a very great loss, so much so that at the beginning of 1778 it was necessary to hold a Parliamentary Committee on the subject in order to discover some practical means of putting a stop to the heavy drain on material and men. It was announced that up to that time the Americans had taken 733 ships, but that 174 had been retaken and restored to their owners. Noble lords shook their heads gravely at the thought that we had lost two million two hundred thousand pounds' worth of ships and property, a small enough sum when compared with the losses that British shipping had to sustain at the hands of the German submarine fleet during the war. Yet it was serious in those days, and it must be remembered that only 174 American privateers in all were commissioned during this period, many of which never contrived to get to sea and some of which were so poorly armed and found that they should not have been able to capture a fishing smack. In considering the depredations of these privateers and also of the pirates, one cannot help blaming the shipowners who sent their ships to sea so miserably armed that they were quite unable to put up any sort of a resistance. The drain in money and material was serious enough, but the loss of so many trained seamen was disastrous to the country and had a very material influence on the progress of the war at sea.

The Convoy System.

All through the 18th century it was necessary to convoy British merchant ships because of the inroads made upon English commerce by their enemies, whether regularly commissioned men-of-war or privateers. Another reason for introducing the system was that the Navy made so many demands on the merchant service by means of the Press Gang that the best crew that a merchantman could hope for was a few first-class seamen, a crowd of foreigners, and a number of boy apprentices, who were not in the least deterred by the danger of going to sea but who were promptly pressed into the Navy as soon as they became experienced seamen. Such crews could not be expected to put up a spirited defence against foreign attacks, but at the same time it was not at all a convenient method of sailing, and if a ship was powerful enough to defend herself she took every step possible to get away from the convoy and sail at her own speed. It was in consequence of this that East Indiamen frequently took out letters of marque as privateers which were of the greatest assistance to them in beating off a French attack. Naturally enough, the progress of the convoy was very slow, for it frequently consisted of two or three hundred merchantmen or more, with a few warships to protect them. On some occasions as many as six hundred sailed at one time, but this was unusual. The task of collecting the ships at a home port took some time, and the cost of this delay to the shipowner must certainly have been very considerable. But when eventually they sailed they were not free of the danger of having stragglers cut off from all the corners of the fleet. As a rule, the flagship was a heavy ship, a 74 or even a bigger line-of-battle ship, which took the lead, and was sufficiently heavily armed to beat off any attack that might be expected. A frigate brought up the rear and hurried along any stragglers that might leave the main body. On either flank there were brigs and sloops, but in spite of all these precautions it was quite general for a merchantman to get out of the fold, when she was promptly pounced on by an enemy corsair.

The Defence of Merchantmen.

Considering how many enemies they had at sea all ready to prey upon them, it is not surprising that all merchantmen in the early days went to sea armed. The system appears to have started in Roman times, when detachments of regular troops were ordered to sail in merchantmen, and continued right down into the middle of the 19th century. Generally the great trouble was the unreasonable desire of the shipowners to economise, and one cannot help thinking that the spread of marine insurance had a good deal to do with the number of badly armed ships that went to sea to fall an easy prey to pirates or privateers. Practically every ship carried some guns, but very often they were so worm-eaten that they were useless, and others were "Quakers," that is, dummy guns made of wood in the hope of scaring off possible enemies. When the Carron Company began to make their short, light guns they were very popular with merchant ships, and were

first fitted in the ships owned by the company itself, which advertised in 1779 that one of their packets was sailing for London well provided with guns and men answerable for them. They also offered to take all trained soldiers and sailors, or steerage passengers who were used to arms and would undertake to help defend the ship, free of cost, as long as they fed themselves through the company's stewards at a very reasonable price. By this means their ships were generally able to give quite a good account of themselves if attacked by privateers, and with their letters of marque were able to sail without waiting for the regular slow convoy down the coast.

The Post Office Packet Service.

The original British government mail service ran from Harwich and Dover to the Continent, and was maintained by little ships of about 60 tons apiece, but at the end of the 17th century Falmouth was made a packet port for the new service that was being run to Spain with very much bigger ships, miniature sloops in type. Until that time Falmouth had been a very small village, but under the influence of the mail service it improved rapidly, and with the town the service also improved. The ships employed on the mail service had to be in the pink of condition and very fast, as a general rule trusting to their speed to save them from enemy privateers and cruisers who were naturally particularly on the lookout for such prizes, and therefore quite a ship-repairing industry grew up around the station. The ships were hired from independent owners, but the personnel was that of the Post Office entirely and was supposed to be devoted to its interests, although, as a matter of fact, the men used to do a good deal of very profitable trading on their own, and occasionally of smuggling also. After the Spanish service came runs to the West Indies and numerous other quarters, until quite a fine and efficient mail-carrying service had been built up.

Defending the Mails.

With their well-built material and trained personnel the Post Office packets were not very far off men-of-war, and naturally the temptation was constantly to attack the King's enemies with the means at their disposal. This by no means agreed with the ideas of the Post Office, whose main object was to protect the mails at all costs, and therefore the packets were strictly forbidden to engage enemy ships. It was one thing to order a British seaman to fly at the approach of an enemy, but it was quite another to make him do it when he seemed to have a good chance of capturing his would-be captors, and accordingly the Post Office authorities struck on the idea of cutting down their armaments to such an extent that they would be an easy prey to the feeblest privateer unless they relied on their speed. There is no doubt that this system caused the regulations to be obeyed very much more than they would otherwise have been, but at the same time many packet commanders relied on the appearance of their ships, which could really be made to look very much like sloops of war, to bluff an enemy into a surrender. Every now and again, with their weak armaments, they bit

off very much more than they could chew. However, some of the actions in which they engaged were unavoidable, and in spite of their feeble armaments many a packet ship contrived to put up a very gallant resistance, and on occasions to beat off her enemy.

The Russian Trade.

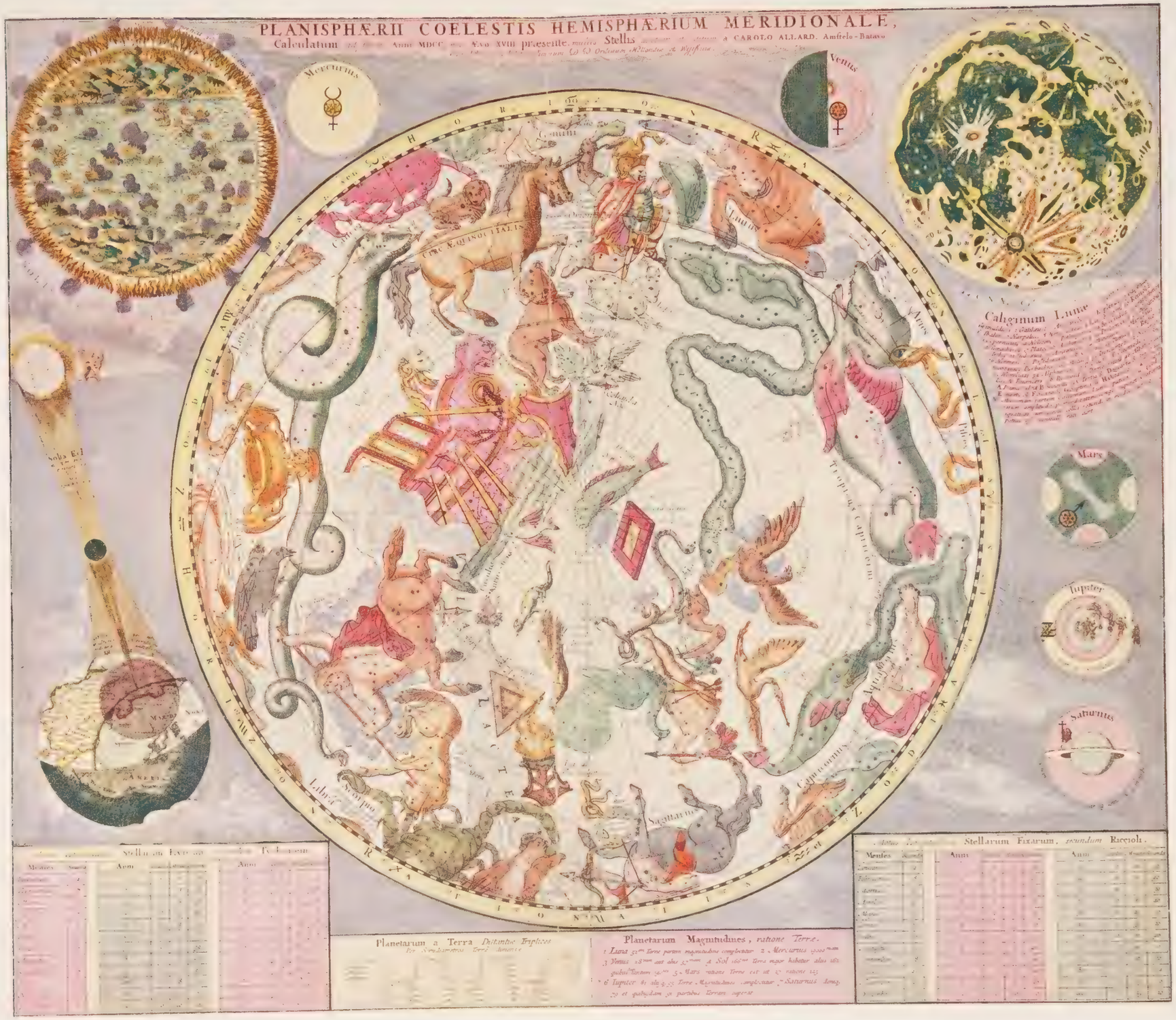
The beginning of the trade with Russia has been discussed in a former volume, but towards the end of the 17th century it had begun to attain a very great importance. When Peter the Great came to the throne he interested himself not only in the building of men-of-war but also in the development of his mercantile marine. At the same time the trade was thrown open by permission being granted to any person to enter the Russia Company on payment of a fee of £5, a sum quite within the means of most people who had indulged in a trading voyage. At the same time, there were considerable disadvantages in the trade, for Peter was a stickler for observing international agreements only when it suited his purpose, and he did not hesitate to seize trained seamen from any merchant ship which put into his ports, a procedure which frequently kept them tied up with their cargoes for long periods.

The African Trade.

The African, or the Guinea trade, as it was generally called, flourished from the days of the Tudors, and by the Declaration of Rights of 1688 the monopoly of the Royal African Company was annulled and British commerce became free. At this time trading was limited to a narrow strip along the coast, but it was a profitable business. One of the great steps in the trade was made as a consequence of the American War of Independence, when there were a number of negroes following the British Army who were at a loose end when the war concluded. The question was, what to do with them, and a small party was sent to found the colony of Sierra Leone, which formed a very useful trading station but had to put up with many vicissitudes before it was well on the path to prosperity. The Guineamen, as the ships of the trade were called, were a class entirely apart from other merchant ships.

The Development of the Period.

The progress made in the 18th century was accomplished in the face of any number of obstacles. The design and construction of merchant ships were improving rapidly but they still left a good deal to be desired, even in the crack East Indiamen. The Press Gang was a necessity of the time, but there is no doubt that its methods of operation were a very severe handicap to trade. So were the methods of most shipowners, and one cannot be surprised that many good seamen were driven to piracy. But the British Empire was extending rapidly, new markets were being exploited, and new maritime powers were springing up around it, so that nothing could stop the steady expansion of overseas trade, while the rapid development of industry was giving full employment to the coastwise traffic.



(Macpherson Collection)

STAR CHART FOR THE END OF THE YEAR 1700,
MADE AND PUBLISHED BY C. ALLARD

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SHIP DESIGN

The State of the British Navy.

When the Treaty of Ryswick was signed in 1697 both the material and personnel of the Royal Navy were on a high level, but very largely by accident. The ships were still an adaptation of the Elizabethan men-of-war and the improvements that were to be brought about during the next century were as yet undreamed of, partly because of the essential conservatism of the people and partly because the shipwrights made their craft a great secret which was not to be divulged to any outsider, no matter what his position. This ill-advised secrecy all too often perpetuated mistakes, and it was not until several very expensive disasters had shown the public that all was not well that general interest and a greatly improved standard of professional attainment wrought the improvements that were so necessary. The 50-gun ships that were so popular in the days of the Commonwealth and the later Stuarts had lost much of their popularity and were beginning to be regarded as neither fish, flesh nor fowl, their duties in the line being handed over to more heavily armed ships and their duties as frigates to lighter and faster craft. In addition to more careful planning there was an all-round improvement in the professional attainment of the sea as well as the shore personnel.

The Genesis of Scientific Ship Design.

Naturally enough the deep secrecy maintained by the early shipwrights did not tend towards any improvement in design, each master preserving his secrets as a family tradition. The scientists of the Royal Society had certainly attempted to do something to improve the practice but they had done it so stolidly and heavily and what they did was so much at variance with all the experience of the practical men, that they were laughed out of court. A ship was built to the designs of the council of the Royal Society, which seems a curious procedure in these days, but she proved to be so top-heavy that she had to be sheathed with an extra thick skin of timber to improve her stability. So the rule-of-thumb men went on, maintaining that the only method of giving their ships increased speed was to give them increased lift, in spite of failure after failure and the obvious fact that the rapid increase in the size of ships was proving designs on this principle to be very weak. Yet at the same time the French, naturally a scientific people, and more or less beginning to build their Navy, were working on purely scientific lines and the fact that the British always found it worth while to copy any French ships that fell into their hands taught the authorities that the new system could not be neglected. So gradually the rule-of-thumb men were displaced and first-class shipwrights substituted in their place.

The Improvement in the Underwater Body of Ships.

It was not until the latter part of the 18th century that real efforts were being made to improve the underwater body, and these were made

in France. Curiously enough the most conspicuous figure was a churchman, the Abbé Bossuet, who lectured before the Academy and showed that water resistance was of the greatest importance. Hitherto everybody had paid sole attention to the bow of the ship, leaving the run aft to take care of itself, but the Abbé proved that this was of every bit as much importance to the speed of the ship as was the bow. Also it allowed the water to reach the rudder freely and assisted in her steering. He was enthusiastically backed by the navigational authorities of La Rochelle, although there were many in France as well as in England who considered that such methods were revolutionary and unnecessarily theoretical. It was at this time that comparative trials were carried out with models, a system that is scientifically practised to-day with the designs of every new ship. For many important discoveries M. Romme is to be credited. All this time in England the old tendency to keep the shipwright's art a close secret persisted and very little was published, although in practical matters British shipbuilders were still able to hold their own.

British Men-of-War.

The " establishment " of British men-of-war, which was founded in the early days of the 18th century, was allowed to continue well on into the middle of it, with the result that ships built to it were not at all satisfactory, and all sorts of trouble resulted from slipshod design and meaningless deviation from the original lines. At the same time, the weight of the innumerable extra features that were always working into a ship in war time caused many complaints of the weakness of British men-of-war, and to remedy this extra knees and beams of various kinds were fitted in for additional strength, often to the very great inconvenience of the men who had to fight the guns and work the ship. Things were improved after the peace of 1748, but at the end of the century Mr. Snodgrass, of the East India Company, who certainly knew more about ships than most people of his day, declared before a Commission that, in his opinion, practically all the ships in the Navy were too short for their purpose, and he suggested that in future they should be built longer in order to permit an extra timber between each two gunports and also that care should be taken to avoid overweighting the ends. Practically all the King's ships had their foremasts set too far forward; they were too lofty aft and too low in the waist, and he declared that they would be much better and safer if the forecastle and quarter-deck were joined together, giving the flush-decked type that afterwards came so completely into favour. He believed that all knees should be of iron rather than wood, and that the fastenings and grapplings on the average man-of-war should be greatly increased. There was too much tumble-home to the sides for strength and seaworthiness, and also—a point in which he was at variance with many of the authorities of the time—he preferred fir or elm to oak, fir if it could conveniently be used. It was in good materials and conscientious work that he could find no fault with the ships of the Royal Navy. So much was this so that Spain invariably turned to British labour for the

construction of her ships, nearly all the shipwrights in her dockyards (Havana being the conspicuous exception) being British-born, and many of them continuing their work even in war time.

The Development of the Frigate.

One of the directions in which the change in the principles of ship design was best shown was in the way that the frigate developed during the 18th century. Long before this it had been decided that something smaller than a line-of-battle ship and better than a pinnace was necessary for work with the fleet, and an effort was made to get a satisfactory small warship by reducing the design of a big one in every detail. The result was the numerous " Lion's Whelps " and it is not altogether surprising that they were not successful. Then they took the lines of a captured Dunkirk privateer and from them they evolved the *Constant Warwick*, which is often spoken of as the first frigate. By the beginning of the 18th century the progress of the science of naval warfare and the new principles which were being taught us by the French had forced the development of frigate design faster than anything else, and the British were beginning to get ships in the fleet which were more or less suitable for their work and made a big difference to the fortunes of the fleet. They were still far from perfect, however, and it was not until round about 1780 that the Navy got a really satisfactory frigate, and then not in anything like sufficient numbers.

Eighteenth-Century Galleys.

It has already been mentioned that galleys were never particularly popular in the British Navy, although they survived in the Mediterranean well on into the era of steam. Ships called galleys, however, appear in the Navy List and the records of the times. In fact, it came to be that a ship was frigate-built when she had poop and forecastle, and galley-built when she was flush-decked. These ships had oars as an auxiliary form of propulsion, just as any other small men-of-war did, but they were not the galleys proper. At the same time, the British Navy in the Mediterranean made considerable use of half-galleys, as they were called—vessels, 120 feet long, with a beam of 18 feet, propelled by forty oars and carrying five guns.

Eighteenth-Century French Ships.

It has already been mentioned in a previous chapter how Charles II and William III found it worth their while to copy French ships, and the same thing went on right through the 18th century. In the French service the greatest possible attention was paid to design, and the tendency was to increase dimensions without adding to their gun-fire. In England, on the other hand, the desire was always to keep dimensions limited and for this reason the " establishments " were worked out which had a very stifling effect on the minds of the designers. The French produced some magnificent designs, but generally speaking they were weak both in construction and material, although they built some very big ships. They made a big move ahead at the end of the century by abolishing the use of shingle as ballast in favour of iron, for

shingle gave a high centre of gravity and moreover could not be dried, the dampness between decks which resulted from its use proving very injurious to the health of the crew. When the experiment with iron was made with the frigate *Iphigène* it was found that she was the best sea-boat and the fastest sailer in the fleet and that she could mount fifteen guns a side instead of the thirteen previously.

The Fresh Water Difficulty.

Nowadays the cruising capacity of a ship is limited by her fuel, but in the 18th century one of the principal ties was the fresh water difficulty, which had been an obstacle to long voyages from the earliest times. A ship attempted to stow all the fresh water that was required for her voyage, but many things might happen to waste her supply. Ships occasionally distilled their own fresh water, but very seldom, and it was not until 1772 that the Admiralty gave orders that all men-of-war should carry stills and appropriate apparatus. Even then only a small proportion of the water required could be so obtained and the water that was taken from port was so foul after it had been in the average ship's tank for a spell that it was a wonder that any of the men survived illness.

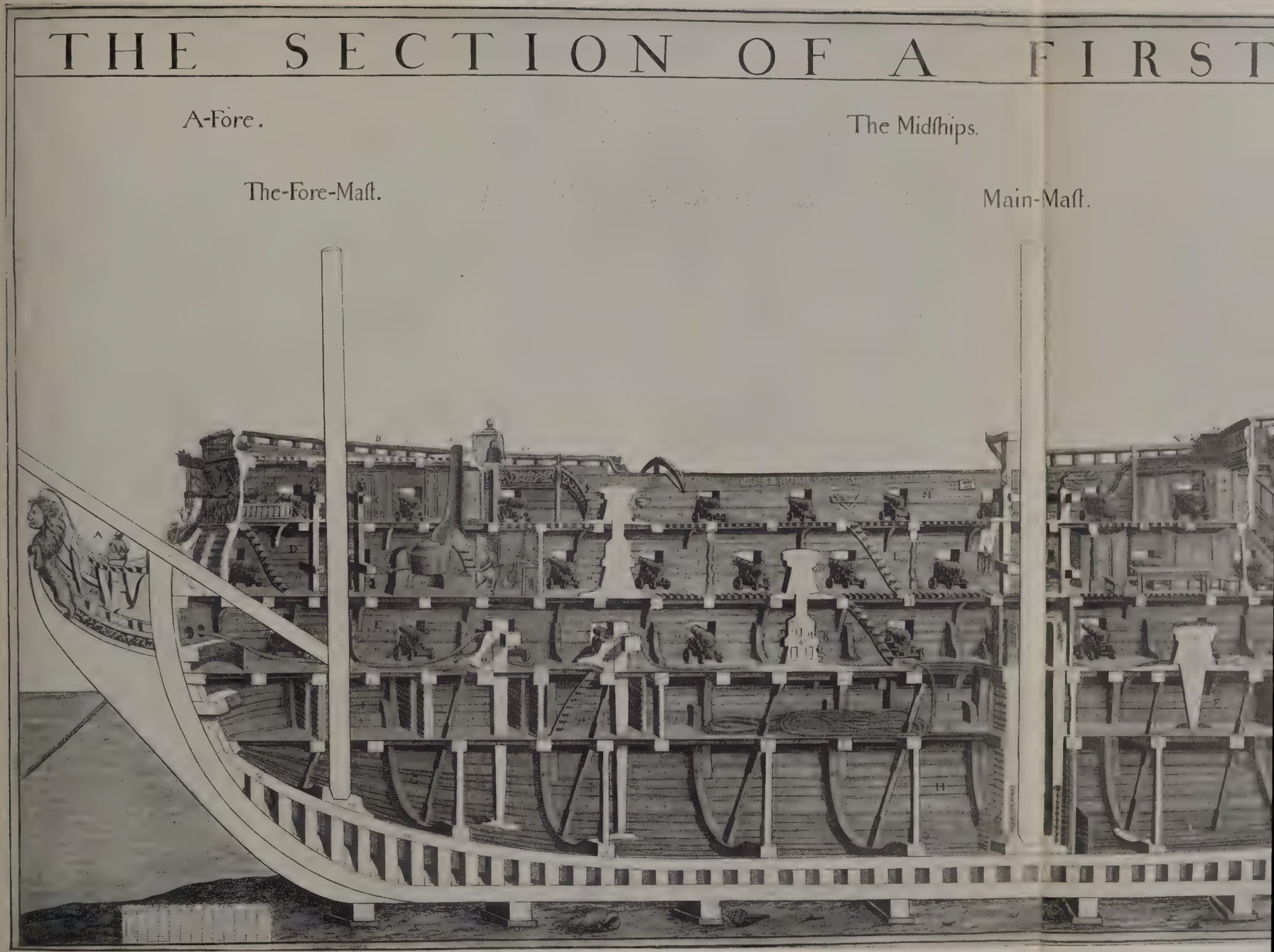
Bilge Water and Ventilation.

The bilges of all H.M. ships were unutterably foul at this time, and when finally some attention was paid to the problem of keeping them sweet it was far more for the sake of preserving the ships' timbers than out of consideration for the health of the men, which appears to have escaped all notice. The surveyors of the Navy discussed the matter at great length in 1710, when they devised all sorts of extra timbers which would facilitate the bilge water running down to the pumps, while the first idea of ventilating the lower spaces of a ship was to fix things in such a way that the rolling of the water naturally displaced the air and made some sort of a current. Nearly half a century afterwards a Dr. Hailes brought before the Admiralty a system of ventilation to counteract the foul air from the bilges, and this appears to have been the first occasion on which the health of the men was considered apart from the preservation of the ship. By means of windmills and large air pumps a good deal was done, but when one recalls incidents like the burying of Admiral Hosier's body in the ballast of a man-of-war there was a lot left undone and the wonder is that the casualty lists were as small as they were. As showing the improvement effected by Dr. Hailes's method, the ships on the North American coast which were fitted with it only had one death to the twelve of those without it; yet it was officially abolished towards the end of the 18th century.

Hemp Cables.

Although chain cables were known at the time of the Romans, one of the greatest handicaps in long distance cruising in the 17th and 18th, and even part of the 19th century, was due to the use of hemp cables. In a small man-of-war designed for long-distance cruising at least a quarter of her service space was occupied by cables, thus cutting down her supply of water and stores to a dangerous degree. Not only did

THE SECTION OF A FIRST



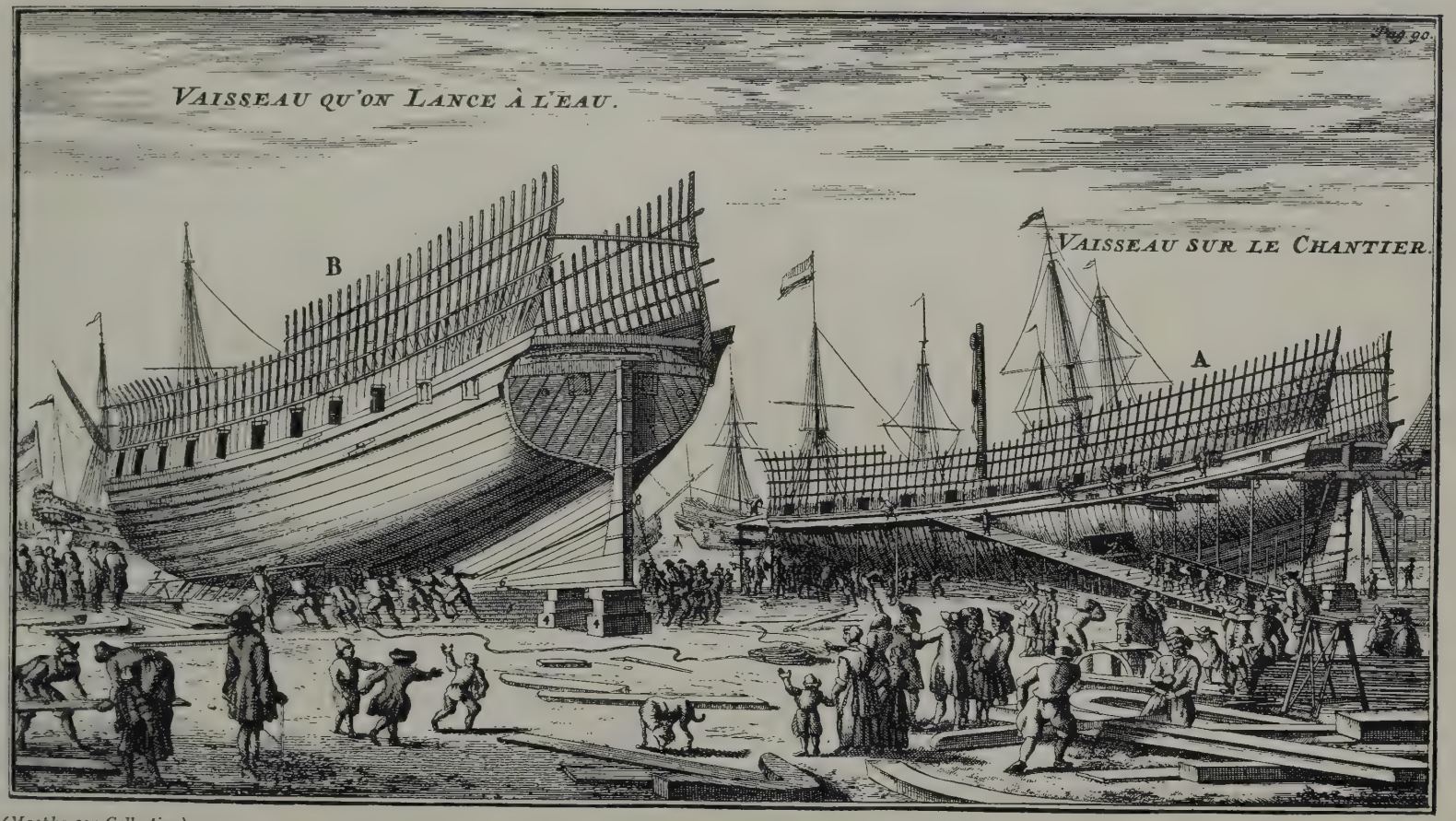
(Macpherson Collection)

SECTION OF THE "ROYAL SOVEREIGN," AS REBUILT, 1684-1696.
(From a Contemporary Engraving, 25¾ in. by 36⅛ in.)

Key.—A. *The Head.* B.C. *The Forecastle.* D.L. *Middle Gun Deck.* E.K. *Lower Gun Deck.* F. *The Orlop.* G.H. *The Hold.* M. *Upper Gun Deck.* N. *Abaft the Main Mast.* O. *Quarter Deck.* P. *The Poop.* Q. *Captain and Lieutenants' Cabin.* R. *The Cuddy, which is commonly divided for the Master and Secretaries' Officers.* S. *The State Room, out of which is made the Bedchamber and other conveniences for the Commander-in-Chief.* T. *The Ward Room allotted for Volunteers and Land Officers.* V. *Officers' Cabins.* W. *The Gun Room.* X. *The Bread Room.* Y. *The Steward's Room.* Z. *The Cockpit, with sub-divisions for the Purser and Chirurgeons and Mates.* Σ. *The Platform or Orlop, where provision is made in time of service for the wounded.*

MODEL OF H.M.S. " MARLBOROUGH," 1708.

This model was for a long time in the London Museum on loan; it was removed in the early part of 1924, *and is now in America, like many other fine models of England's old naval ships, its present owner being Mr. Max Williams, of New York.*
(From a Photograph lent by R. C. Anderson, Esq.)



(Macpherson Collection)

SHIPBUILDING AND LAUNCHING IN HOLLAND.
(FROM "L'ART DE BATIR DES VAISSEAUX," PUBLISHED AMSTERDAM, 1719)

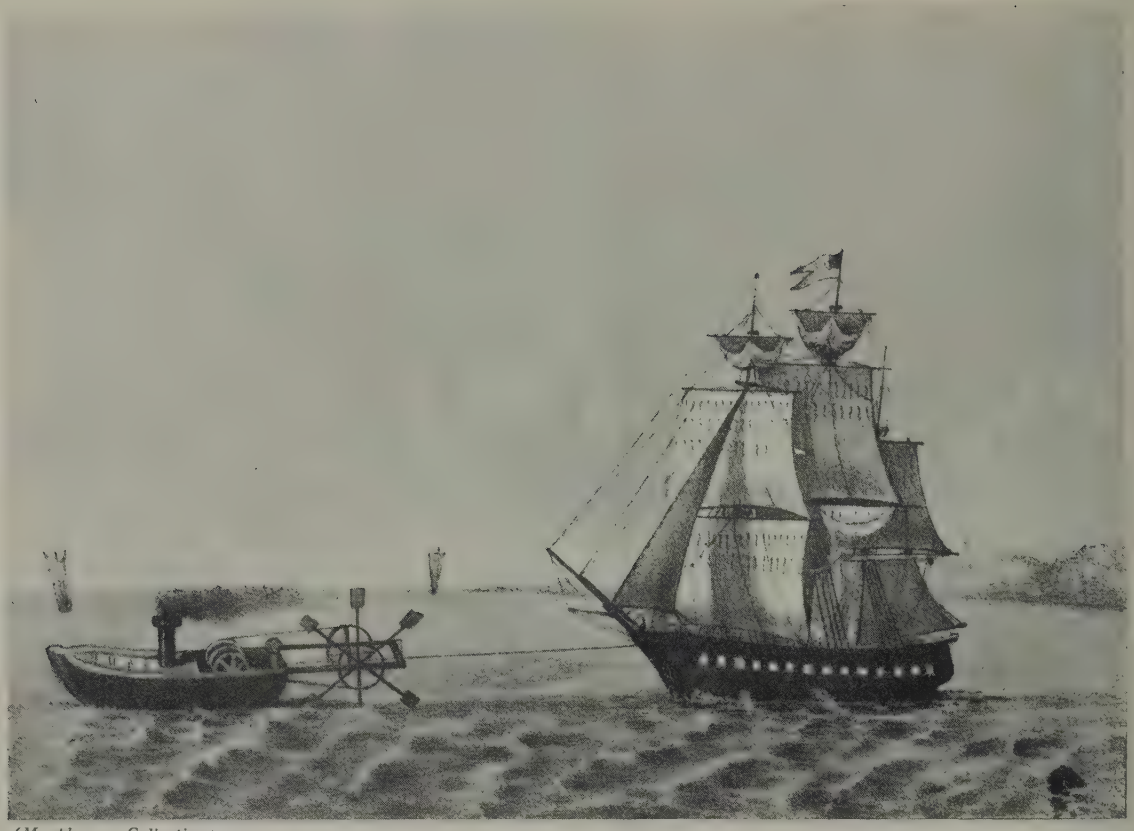
The eighteenth-century Dutch custom of building ships in any convenient open space is still to be seen in some parts of Holland. It will be noticed that the bluff bows of the Dutch ships permitted them to be launched bow foremost without the danger of diving.

To their Graces the DUKE and DUTCHESS of LANCASTER
With LORD ANSON attending the
Is most humbly Inscribed by their Graces
THIS VIEW of HARWICH and the Yatchs
LANDGUARD FORT
most devoted and Obliged Servt
Thomas Allen

(Macpherson Collection)

THE YATCH OR YACHT "MARY" AND OTHER VESSELS OFF HARWICH, 1727
(From an Engraving by P. C. Canot)

Although they were not so described, yachts existed in the Royal Navy from early days. In this engraving the terms "yatch" and "yacht" are both used in referring to the principal vessels assembled. The Mary, *with the Duchess of Ancaster on board, is in the centre, and to the left is the* Charlotte, *with Lord Anson, and at the extreme left the* Catherine, *with the Duchess of Hamilton on board.*



(Macpherson Collection)

JONATHAN HULL'S STEAMBOAT TRIED AS A TUG ON THE AVON IN 1737

Although he did valuable work as a pioneer, Jonathan Hull's early efforts at building a steamboat eventually came to nothing. The above illustration is from a print published nearly a century later.

they take up a lot of space, but hemp cables had to be constantly watched for chafing when in use, or for rotting when stowed away, so that really one cannot be surprised at the number of anchors and cables that were lost in any sort of bad weather and one can well understand the old sailormen's dread of a lee shore with such uncertain ground tackle.

Ship Timbers.

In the year 1694 the Navy Board carefully considered the question of ship timbers and continued to do so at intervals for the next twenty years. The ribs and planking of a ship were generally charred before they were used, the method being to set the timbers in front of a fire fed by waste wood, while their outsides were kept wet. By this means the plank or rib was finally bent to the required shape. Later the charring process was replaced by stoving, in which the wood was placed in wet sand and subjected to a strong heat which extracted the juices and allowed it to be bent. It was not until the middle of the 18th century that proper attention was paid to the seasoning of the timber for shipbuilding, the lesson having been learned by the rapidity with which some of our best ships decayed. It was then declared that big ships should remain in frame at least a year to season and that timber should be sawn at least a year before it was used and should be properly stacked so that air could circulate round it. British oak was considered by far the best timber for shipbuilding. Several foreign Navies, noticeably the Dutch, imported it for the construction of their ships, while others were forced to use fir, which splintered when it was hit by a shot and in this way generally caused more casualties than were directly due to the enemy's fire. This superiority of British timber was ascribed to the weather, the succession of warmth and cold, sunshine and rain, subscribing just what was required for alternate conservation and growth. It was none too plentiful, however, especially when timber was used for the smelting of iron for cannon, with the result that during the 18th century foreign oak was ordered to be used for repairs.

Sheathing.

From the very early days the question of protecting a ship's timber from the ravages of worm was a very important one, and as early as the 15th century *Santa Anna* lead was experimented with. About the same time it became quite general to cover the underwater body with a sheathing of soft wood. Lead also was considered to be worthy of repeated trials and was quite general in Charles II's reign. The natural disadvantage was that the action of water tended to strip off the soft metal and that the jagged edges pulled up the ship's speed more than anything else. Experiments with copper were made in the year 1761, when a frigate on the West Indies station which had been sheathed with a thin plate of copper was sent on an experimental cruise. The 32-gun *Alarm* was the ship chosen and after a spell she was carefully examined in dry dock and found to have withstood the tests very well indeed. After some years, however, it was found that, where the copper was fastened with iron nails, excessive oxidisation had set up and the sheath-

ing was practically ruined, a difficulty that is prevented to-day and has been for many years past by the use of dividing washers. A great advocate of copper sheathing was Admiral Rodney and it was due to his insistent demands for sheathed ships while he was in command in the West Indies that the custom became general. It was not, however, completely satisfactory until well into the 19th century.

Scientific Sails.

The development of the sail plan of ships from the elementary square sail of the earliest times down to the quite elaborate rig of the Tudors and Stuarts has been traced, but it was not until early in the 18th century that the rig of big ships attracted the attention that it deserved. Then triangular headsails came out, first in the Dutch, and later in the big British and French ships. They had been adopted in small Dutch sloops as early as the 16th century, but for big ships all nations had been content to have the square sprit sails and sprit topsails. At the same time the mizzen began to develop. It came from the Mediterranean in the shape of a lateen and was not adopted for big ships for many years. Then riggers did without the section of the sail before the mast, and finally gave the gaff jaws instead of hoisting it across the mast. This arrangement permitted a far better handling of the square sails on the mizzenmast, essential for keeping station in squadron or convoy.

Economical Shipbuilding.

In 1703 it was decided that the cost of building men-of-war was far too high and efforts were made to cut down every unnecessary expense. Strict orders were given that all elaborate ornamental work was to go, that carving should give way to moulding and that the panelled bulkheads were to be replaced by frames and painted canvas. In this way weight as well as money was saved, and the business of clearing the lower deck of a ship for action became much more simple.

Early Navigational Equipment.

When one considers the apparatus with which the navigators of old tried to find their way about the Seven Seas, one cannot help thinking that the wonder is not so much that they were constantly off their course and made discoveries by accident when they were really trying to go in quite a different direction, but that they ever made a proper landfall at all. These navigators took the altitude of the Pole Star for the purpose of getting their latitude by means of an astrolabe, or sometimes even with a crossbow, and the noon altitude of the sun by similar means. As for longitude, it could only be found by dead reckoning, and generally their reckoning was surprisingly out. Even Anson, when he went round the world, wasted a lot of time groping for the island of Juan Fernandez and sailing up and down its parallel in the hope that he would strike it. The time thus wasted meant seventy or eighty deaths to his sickly ship's company. No wonder that the authorities were willing to offer a big reward for some method of finding a ship's longitude with even tolerable certainty. Many efforts were made to

win this reward, but most of them were hopelessly unpractical. It was realised that the method must be to have an absolutely accurate timepiece, but such a thing was far beyond the powers of most men at that time; they might make a passable timekeeper on land but it would not stand the motion of a ship. Among the ideas put forward in hope of gaining this reward may be mentioned that of the man who suggested the erection of a sundial on the poop of each ship. However, through the 17th century the standard of timekeeping steadily improved, although it was never accurate enough for navigational purposes until Harrison came.

John Harrison's Chronometers.

The man who made the first really practical chronometer was the son of a Yorkshire carpenter, who worked for his father for some time before he turned his attention to horology. His first noteworthy clock was made in 1715 and is still to be seen at South Kensington, remarkable for its wooden wheels. By the time the Government in 1713 offered prizes of £10,000, £15,000 and £20,000 for a timekeeper which should be accurate enough to determine longitude within sixty, forty or thirty miles respectively, John Harrison had taken up the study of clocks seriously, and it is on this that his reputation rests. His first chronometer was completed in 1735 and weighed 72 lbs.; it was not accurate enough to win the prize but far in advance of anything that had preceded it. His second was completed in 1739 and only a few months ago was made to go and keep accurate time by Commander Gould, of the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty, who has written the standard history of the marine chronometer. The third was an adaptation of this and took seventeen years to complete. His fourth chronometer that won the prize was shaped like a large watch, and after that he completed his work by making a fifth, which is now preserved at the Guildhall in London. His timepieces survived their tests and made a huge difference to navigation, permitting ships which could afford to carry one to find their way about the seas with tolerable certainty, and it was entirely owing to his invention that Captain Cook was able to carry out his famous voyage.

Naval Guns.

The general tendency was for the English guns to be short and of big calibre, the French to be smaller and longer. This was due to the British idea of getting alongside an enemy and hammering her into submission, while the French policy was to stand off and wreck the enemy's rigging sufficiently to prevent her following and stopping the particular operation which the French had in view at the time. For this reason the French gun often outranged the British by as much as a mile. Most continental naval observers considered that the British over-gunned their ships badly. When they took a French or a Spanish prize the first thing they did was to put heavier metal into her, while the first thing that the French or Spaniards did in similar circumstances was to land some of her artillery. Later the British were to learn that

the Americans could mount heavier metal than anybody and still have a fast sailing ship. However, there were constant efforts made to overcome the bad lessons learned from the Dutch Wars, when gunfire was everything, and in 1716 and 1730 special orders were framed to cut down the metal of British ships and make them sail better, although these seem to have had but little good effect.

The Effect of Gunfire.

The disadvantage to long guns of small calibre was that when they hit the side of a ship they tended to go right through her while the softened wood closed round the hole, reducing the leak and making it quite easy for the ship's carpenters to repair it with plugs. Several patent plugs for this service were invented both by the authorities and by the carpenters and officers of the fleet. It was to get over this difficulty that the practice of double-shotting the guns came into vogue, for although both aim and range were spoiled, the hole caused by the double shot was invariably a serious one. This disadvantage of long guns in close range fighting, as well as the necessity of economising weight, led to the invention of the carronade.

The Establishment of Woolwich.

In the old days, when coal for smelting purposes was but little known and its use was being heartily opposed by the ironmasters, the casting of cannon came to be confined to the counties where wood was plentiful for the purpose. In 1619 a decree confined it to the counties of Kent and Sussex and the guns were to be handled at the Tower works only, but it is to be feared that a good deal of unauthorised gun running went on and artillery was sold even by the Royal establishments. Guns cast in the home counties were tested at Moorfields in London, which cannot have been a very comfortable neighbourhood for dwelling-houses, the site of the butts being roughly where Liverpool Street Station now stands. Meanwhile the use of bronze for gun casting in place of iron was growing, and presently it was decided to move the testing ground at Moorfields to Woolwich. But it was an accident that occurred in 1716, when an attempt was made to use some captured guns which had been on exhibition in the City for some years, that decided the authorities that a proper system of gun founding must be established and accordingly the Royal Gun Factory came into existence. The first master founder was a foreigner, Andrew Schalk of Douai, and he held the position until he died in extreme old age sixty years after his appointment. The guns that he cast were completely successful and had a big influence on British successes in the wars that followed.

A Quaker Artillerist.

Curiously enough the man who made most difference to the science of British Naval gunnery was a Quaker, Benjamin Robins. His parents were in poor circumstances and were unable to give him very much of an education, but he had such mathematical genius that a friend advised him to go to London. He made a very close study of the science of gunnery and published the results in his book, " The New Principle of

(Macpherson Collection)

THE " ROYAL WILLIAM," AS SHE WAS AFTER ABOUT 1757.
(From an Engraving by Pollard, after T. Michell.)
(The Royal William *was over a century old when she was broken up, about* 1820. *About* 1757 *she was cut down from a 3-decker to a 2-decker.)*

"MOONLIGHT"
(Engraving by Canot, after P. Monamy, Published February 21, 1745-6)

The above picture is of interest as showing early types of yachts employed in the Navy in the first half of the eighteenth century.

(From a Print lent by Messrs. T. H. Parker)

MODEL OF A DUTCH EAST INDIAMAN OF ABOUT 1740
(SCHEEPVAART MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM)

This model shows clearly the rig and the form of hull of the finest merchantmen of that period.

YATCH "CAROLINA," 1750

YATCH "UNION," ON THE THAMES AT HAMMERSMITH, 1751

In the middle of the eighteenth century the ship rig came in for the biggest yachts, but it was far more usual to find light handy little yachts or yatches of the type of the Union. *The print of the* Carolina *shows George II going aboard, attended by Lord Anson.*

(Macpherson Collection)

THE SPANISH SHIP "HERMIONE," CAPTURED OFF CAPE ST. VINCENT, MAY 31, 1762.
(ENGRAVING BY AND AFTER R. WRIGHT, PUBLISHED NOVEMBER, 1762)

The Hermione *was captured off Cape St. Vincent by the frigate* Active *and the sloop* Favourite, *both of which are shown in the engraving.*

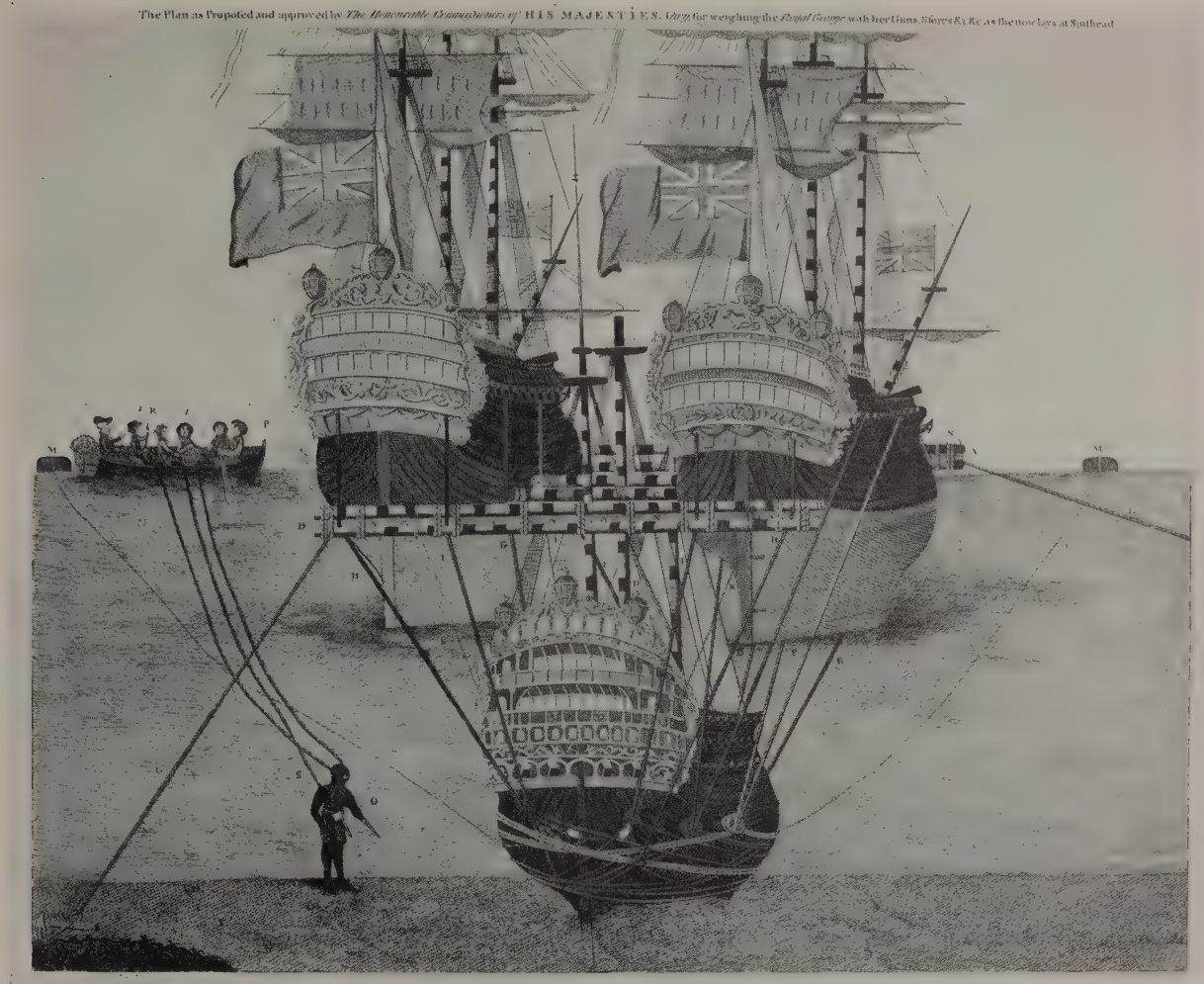
(Macpherson Collection)

WOOLWICH DOCKYARD ABOUT 1772.
(From a Contemporary Engraving, after a Painting by J. Cleveley, Junr.)

Although it was being eclipsed by Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, Woolwich was an important dockyard in the middle of the eighteenth century.

THE FIRST "ROYAL GEORGE"
(Engraving by I. Cole, after Baston)

Originally built in 1672 *as the* Royal Charles, *rebuilt in* 1693 *and renamed* Queen, *again in* 1716 *and renamed* Royal George, *this ship was rechristened* Royal Anne *in* 1756 *to make way for Kempenfelt's ill-fated flagship, and was not taken to pieces until* 1767, *by which time little if any of the original ship remained.*


The Plan as Proposed and approved by The Honorable Commissioners of HIS MAJESTIES Navy for weighing the Royal George with her Guns Stores &c. &c. as she now Lays at Spithead

(Macpherson Collection)

PLAN FOR WEIGHING KEMPENFELT'S "ROYAL GEORGE" AT SPITHEAD
(Engraving by A. Bannerman, Published 1783.)

This engraving shows the ship sunk on an even keel as she went down, instead of being capsized in accordance with the popular legend.

(Macpherson Collection)

H.M.S. " LONDON," SECOND-RATE, 90 GUNS, OFF RAM HEAD, NEAR PLYMOUTH
(From a Line Engraving Published 1781)

The London *was launched at Chatham in* 1766, *and after a distinguished career taken to pieces in* 1811. *She was a good example of the ship of her day.*

Gunnery," which came out in 1742 and made a great stir. His careful investigation of the resistance of air on the progress of projectiles was quite a new line of thought for the gunnery men of the period, and there was a tendency to laugh at him in England until the French realised what lay behind his work and endorsed it heartily. He also advocated the institution of rifled gun barrels, but that was not to come into general practice for a long time after his death. Finally his theories began to be generally accepted and the East India Company, whose armaments in the East were then in a very bad way, offered him a big salary to go out and superintend their fortifications and the armament of their ships. He went out, but before he could do anything constructive he died of fever in the year 1751.

Improved Gunnery.

At the same time a further great improvement was adopted by the invention of a method of boring guns, which permitted them to be cast solid and bored afterwards instead of having to be cast round a core as had previously been the case. At the same time a great improvement was effected in the methods of casting iron, with the result that higher pressures could be employed, and altogether gunnery was greatly improved in every particular. During the Seven Years' War it was seen that the field guns very quickly wore out and iron guns from the fleet were brought ashore, and at the same time the gun came to be regarded in a severely practical light. All the ornament that had decorated the early guns gave place to a simple initial of the name of the caster, with generally a date as well. Experiments were also carried out in making the chamber, in which the propellant was fired, spherical instead of cylindrical, but as a rule the violence of the recoil of these guns was too great for their use to be practical. It was not until some time after that real efforts were made to improve the carriages on which the guns were mounted, the recoil being treated in just the same way in George II's reign as it was in Elizabeth's. In 1779, however, an effort was made to improve them by easing the recoil of the guns with steel springs attached to the carriages. This eased the shock on the breaching rope, which had previously been so great that frequently the guns broke adrift and careening round the deck caused as many casualties as the enemy's shot before they could be secured. About the same time other attempts were made to check the recoil by means of running the gun up an inclined plane, but none of them were particularly satisfactory. The same inventor devised a means whereby a far greater arc of fire could be secured by the ordinary broadside gun, with the result that a ship so fitted could come into action with the enemy long before any of the others and maintain it long after. It must be remembered, however, that the arc of fire through the ordinary gun-port was always very limited, and the deck guns were very seriously interfered with by the rigging of the ship.

Firing Appliances.

It was shortly before 1780 that a determined attempt was made to introduce a proper firing lock into the fleet instead of the slow match

that had done duty ever since the invention of gunnery. The smaller pieces had been fired with locks for a long time past but the big guns had stuck to the old system, and there was a good deal of opposition to introducing either a firing lock or a fuse.

The Carronade.

As may well be imagined, the immense demand for guns both for shore service and for men-of-war and armed merchantmen during the French Wars caused a very serious shortage, which was to a great extent relieved by the invention of the carronade in 1778. This came from the Carron Company, one of the best known of the Scottish iron founding firms, who constructed a light gun very much like the old Cohorn. It was very much shorter and lighter than the ordinary naval gun of the period but fired a heavy shot, advantage being taken of the shortness of the weapon to reduce the "windage" which was usually allowed. Weight and space were the principal considerations in mounting big guns on an ordinary ship's deck, but this light gun with its specially designed carriage enabled them to fire a heavy shot which did colossal damage at short range although it had no effect at a distance. They were naturally much cheaper than the long guns, which was another great consideration in their favour with armed merchantmen who were among the principal advocates of the system. They also found their way into the Royal Navy in very considerable numbers, but they were rather curiously regarded and were not included in the ship's official armament, the figure being given as though these carronades did not exist. In short-range action, however, they made a huge difference, and many captains believed in them thoroughly. At the same time they had very serious disadvantages and as naval gunnery improved in the early 19th century they were abandoned. Their short range was much against them and also they had very little penetrating power, while unless the breaching rope which took up the recoil was very carefully adjusted there was always a danger of the gun coming back against the end of the slide with great force and putting itself out of action, a thing that occurred on more than one occasion with very serious results. The French, who believed in keeping their range and disabling their enemy's rigging, had no use for the carronade and did not take it up for a long time after other navies had tried it thoroughly. Another disadvantage was that they were so placed that very often they did serious damage to the rigging of the ship that was using them, and occasionally set it on fire.

The Trial of the Carronade.

The first trial of the carronade on active service was a rather peculiar one, for after a lot of argument the Admiralty consented to re-arm the frigate *Rainbow* with the new weapon. In the old days she had carried forty-four guns—twenty 18-pounders, twenty-two 12-pounders and two 6-pounders on the forecastle. The broadside with this armament amounted to 318 pounds. With her new armament of carronades she had twenty 68-pounders and twenty-two 42-pounders,

with six 32-pounders on the quarter-deck and forecastle, the broadside amounting to 1,238 pounds but the range being very much less than with her old guns. She went to sea in the Spring of 1772 under the command of Captain Henry Trollope and searched in vain for an enemy on whom she could try her new gun. They all contrived to evade her until September, when she came upon a large French frigate. As soon as she got into range she opened fire with her bow chasers, 32-pounders. As soon as the Frenchman found these big shot falling on his deck from a forecastle gun he began to wonder what she would have in her main battery and therefore decided that it would be far safer to strike, although as a matter of fact he could have put up a very good fight, and had he kept his range he would certainly have beaten the British ship before she could get a single shot in at him. The news of this victory caused a tremendous sensation in England and perhaps it gave the carronade greater favour than it really deserved. But for its purpose it was a very useful weapon as long as its purpose was strictly recognised.

The Navy's Gunpowder.

One really cannot wonder at the poor practice made in naval gunnery in the 18th century, for not only was there a very ample allowance made for windage between the shot and the gun, but the elevating and sighting gear was of the most elementary description, and little care was taken to obtain exact charges. " Take about a shovelful of powder " is the instruction given in one of the earliest gunnery drill-books. In 1779 an officer was sent to examine the powder of His Majesty's ships in commission, and found only four barrels of good powder in the whole fleet. There is no doubt that the grossest fraud had been practised by the makers for many years, and this discovery led to the establishment of a Government-owned powder works at Waltham Abbey.

Fighting Tops.

Well into the 18th century stones and other missiles were carried on the fighting tops of certain ships to drop on the decks of their enemies, just as they were in the olden days, but presently they came to be replaced by bombs and grenades. These were sometimes thrown from the top, sometimes from the yard-arm, from which position they frequently contrived to drop into the open hatchway of an adversary and do tremendous damage. At the same time their use entailed very great danger of fire in the tops, and many commanders refused to carry either sharpshooters or bombers aloft on account of the danger of their setting fire to the rigging and sails around them.

Boarding.

Right on until the coming of the ironclad boarding was a favourite mode of fighting with the British seaman, whose one idea was to get his ship alongside the enemy and either batter her to pieces or else carry her by boarding, just as the Spaniards had tried to carry the British ships in Armada days. As soon as the ships got yard-arm to yard-arm every effort was made to secure them, while the small-arms

men and bombers got to work. Ships were fitted with what were known as " close quarters," which were strong houses of wood loopholed for musketry, inside which the defenders could get some sort of protection to beat off hostile boarders. Occasionally they were below deck, with barrels of powder on the deck over them, which could be fired from the close quarters. Boarding nettings were also slung from the rigging down to the bulwarks, frequently of two-inch rope. In the early days the marines and certain mariners carried long pikes, even up to sixteen feet in length, which were very useful at close quarters, and also boarding axes or tomahawks. These latter were very much like the modern poleaxe for killing cattle, having a sharp point at the back of the head as well as a blade. They could be used for cutting away the enemy's rigging and also for making a scaling ladder up the side of an enemy loftier than the attacker. Pikes and boarding axes were carried in His Majesty's ships right into the 20th century, long after they could be of any practical use.

The Size of East Indiamen.

In the early days every effort was made to keep down the size of the East Indiamen, five hundred tons being the limit over which it was necessary to carry a chaplain. The company therefore invariably kept their ships at four hundred and ninety-nine, until it was decided that the trading advantages of bigger ships, and the better powers of defence against privateers and enemy cruisers, made up for the extra cost of the divine. At the end of the 17th century, therefore, they were going up to seven hundred and fifty tons and before long there were ships of twelve hundred and thirteen hundred tons in the Fleet, ships that were very popular both from the point of view of their defensibility and large carrying capacity. Some of these ships were heavily armed, but it must be remembered that as a general rule the guns were not of very big calibre and that the decks were so cluttered with merchandise that it was very difficult to man them even without the constant difficulties of the crews. A large part of the East Indiamen's crews were Lascars who were good enough for handling sail but were hopeless in action except in unusual circumstances, when time and again they distinguished themselves. As regards the armament, it is to be feared that the ship's husband frequently got away with wooden " quaker " guns until the company got it enacted that the commander and owners of a ship should be fined thirty pounds for each gun that was missing from her legend armament. A further fine of a hundred pounds for both the commander and owner were intended to put a stop to the practice of selling the armament to possible enemies, but it is not unlikely that many guns so disposed of were logged as " jettisoned in bad weather for the safety of the ship."

The Teak East Indiamen.

When first the native Indian shipbuilders suggested that they should build Indiamen of teak, as they had done for the Portuguese before the coming of the English, there was a great outcry among the shipbuilding interests at home, who considered that they would be affected. The

MODEL OF THE FRENCH LUGGER "LE COURER," 1775.

The French brought the lugger rig to its finest pitch of development, and the vessel shown is a good example of an 18-gun lugger of the period. The model is in the Musee de Marine, Paris.

(Macpherson ([illegible])

THE CUMBERLAND SAILING SOCIETY'S YACHTS OFF SHEERNESS
(Engraving by B. J. Pouncy, after J. Kitchingman, Published 1778)

Founded in 1775, *the Cumberland Society was one of the first Yacht Clubs, but in the early days its activities were more in the direction of formal parades and reviews than of racing.*

(Macpherson Collection)

THE FREE BRITISH FISHERY OFF SHETLAND
(Engraving by Anthony Walker, from a Drawing by T. Craskell)

The importance of the herring fishery may be inferred from the number and variety of vessels here shown assembled off Shetland. In the foreground to the right is a Buss with nets spread, a grampus in the middle foreground showing that a shoal of herrings is near. In the centre is the Superintendent's ship, Prince of Wales, 20 *guns, and near by, to the right, two "Jagers," or tenders, for taking the catch to market. On the extreme right the English man-of-war* Peggy *is firing at a French fishing vessel, while on the left of the picture is a Dutch Buss making sail, and behind it* (10) *a Dutch Commodore Dogger and* (11) *a Dutch fly-boat or hospital ship.*

(Macpherson Collection)

THE "PITT," EAST INDIAMAN.
(From an Aquatint by Edy, after D. Serres, R.A., 1787)

William Pitt was a very good friend to the East India Company, and it was natural that one of their finest ships should be named after him. As was sometimes done in those days, the engraving shows her bow, broadside and stern.

Navigation Acts were quoted to such good effect that the seas in which these ships were allowed to navigate were very strictly defined, and they were not allowed to ply west of the Cape of Good Hope or east of Cape Horn. Yet there is no doubt that they were among the finest built ships ever owned by the company, and finally this came to be realised when British builders could no longer keep up with the ravages of the enemy. Then it was that the wonderful teak built ships were appreciated, and not only as Indiamen but also as men-of-war, and some of the finest of the old wooden walls were built by Parsees at Bombay or in one of the other Indian centres.

French Merchantmen.

After finding so many instances of the superiority in construction and design of French men-of-war over their British rivals, it is not unpleasant to find that the tables were turned with regard to merchantmen. In an enquiry which followed the foundering of a merchant ship which had been captured from them, an expert witness pointed out that the timbers of French ships were usually fastened with iron bolts or spikes, which were very liable to grow rusty, and that when they had done so the timbers generally became loose at once and the ships rendered incapable of bearing the sea without perceptible symptoms of decay. This certainly seems to be true, and the workmanship in French merchantmen was very far inferior to that of British.

New England Shipbuilding.

The rapid increase in the shipbuilding industry in the New England states in the early part of the 18th century alarmed British shipbuilders as much as did the Indian progress, with the result that in 1724 they petitioned the Government not to encourage shipbuilding in the New England states because workmen were drawn thither. However, it wanted more than petitions of this sort to put an end to such a vigorous young industry, and the ships turned out in the colonies continued to have magnificent reputations and to be generally sought after, until soon after the War of American Independence, when, British and Colonial ports being closed to the American flag, the trade of the States was ruined for some time, and with it the shipbuilding industry.

Canadian Shipbuilding.

It was the French who first started shipbuilding in Canada, their first seagoing vessel being the *Galiote* of 1663, and by 1715 there was quite a big shipbuilding industry at Quebec. The French colonists suffered, however, very much in the same way as the British, for the Government at home only wanted Canada for the sake of its furs and would have none of its ships. In 1639, however, it was felt that it would be quite useful to have ships of war built there, for they would be more difficult for the British to blockade, and accordingly orders were given that sloops should be built in the colony. Quite a number were so constructed, the biggest being a 70-gun ship, which unfortunately broke her back in being launched. The bigger warships were not particularly successful on account of the soft wood used in their

construction, but with fast corsairs and frigates the colonies did well. It was not until 1770 that shipbuilding came to be tried in New Brunswick, when a schooner named the *Betsy* was turned out, very largely from the material of an old sloop. When the Nova Scotian salmon fisheries were well established a number of fishing craft were built to work the coastal fisheries and also for service on the Grand Banks. When the British took possession of the Maritime Colonies, they used their timber resources principally for masts and spars, of which they were in constant need and for which the timber of Canada was unequalled. In Nova Scotia shipbuilding started in 1751, when a brig was built at Halifax with slave labour. Little was done until 1763, when fishing boats began to be turned out, but it was not until the beginning of the 19th century that Nova Scotian shipbuilding became really famous.

Brigs and Snows.

Among the most popular rigs for British merchant ships at this time were the brig and the snow. At a distance it was difficult to tell them apart, but they could be distinguished by the fact that the fore and aft mainsail had its gaff running on a small trysail mast in a snow, whereas in a brig it ran on the mainmast itself. Being square-rigged on both masts, they required a good many men to handle them, which was just what the Navy desired, and while they could not sail nearly as close to the wind as a schooner they had the advantage that in working up a narrow river they could make stern boards as well as tacks and get up almost any stream, working half the time ahead and half astern. It was not until the competition of steam made economy in men a very urgent necessity that the brig went out altogether; the snow had become very uncommon many years before.

The Schooner.

The beginning of the schooner rig is traditionally assigned to 1713, when Captain Andrew Robinson, of Gloucester, Massachusetts, built the first, her sharp lines and novel rig attracting a lot of attention. When she took the water an enthusiastic spectator, likening her to the skimming of a stone on the surface, exclaimed: "See how she schoons!" Robinson until then had not known what to call his craft, but instantly caught the idea and replied: "A schooner let her be." It is a nice story and may possibly have occurred, but there is something wrong with it, for there were certainly schooners in existence in American waters before the date given. The rig proved so suitable for the work and for the characteristics of American seamen that it was adopted whole-heartedly on the American coasts, and soon there were far more schooners there than any other rig.

Peter the Great's Navy.

The Czar Peter the Great understood the advantages of sea power to his country and gave it a navy for the first time, at the same time encouraging merchant shipping. Placing the rule of the country under a regency, he travelled in Holland for information in shipbuilding and

found the shallow draught vessels constructed there ideal for his own waters; he then visited England in order to learn all that there was to be known of good workmanship. For a time he worked with his own hands as a shipwright at Deptford dockyard, and received instruction in naval architecture from Sir Anthony Deane in intervals of drinking bouts such as were considered only fit and proper for a Russian grandee of his period. Deane impressed him very much and eventually he engaged Mr. John Deane, his brother, to go with him back to Russia and instruct his subjects in shipbuilding. At the same time Peter himself was more than an enthusiastic amateur, and Deane gives him the credit for having invented a new type of false keel and other appliances.

CHAPTER IX

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SEAMAN

General Conditions.

As far as general conditions were concerned, the seaman in the early 18th century probably fared as badly as at any time, the worst part of it being that many of his hardships were quite avoidable. In the Navy the discipline was brutal in the extreme, and in the merchant service it was not much better. Reading of what went on, one can well understand that many landsmen at this time marvelled at anybody ever going to sea. Small wonder that the seaman of the day was the roughest of characters, and he got very little inspiration from his officers, for, with few exceptions, they were corrupt and self-seeking. Politics were rife in the Navy, and on more than one occasion bade fair to wreck the service, while owners of merchantmen were squeezing the very last ounce out of their ships, and it was generally the seaman who had to pay for a good deal of it in the long run.

The Navy and the Merchant Service.

At this time there was an extraordinary amount of interchangeability between the Navy and the Merchant Service, officers passing from one to the other and back again, and men doing the same, although frequently less willingly. When peace was proclaimed the custom was to let every seaman shift for himself, with the result that the best immediately tried to get a living in the Merchant Service, and this was the only way in which many naval officers contrived to keep their hands in and maintain touch with the sea at all. Piracy and smuggling also absorbed a large number of the Navy's surplus men in peace time.

Eighteenth Century Naval Officers.

The great change in the social position of the naval officer came when King George III gave Prince William, later to be William IV, what was known as a cockpit education, and scandalised all his courtiers by so doing. That, however, was comparatively late in the century. Before then the old trouble of finding good men had been made worse by the system of cutting down the Navy to nothing in peace time. This bad old system meant finding officers in a hurry as soon as war broke out, and naturally these were apt to be both inefficient and very far from suitable men. During a protracted war the standard improved, but after the Peace of Utrecht the naval officer was a very poor type, and it took the service many years to get over it.

The Midshipmen.

At this period and long after it was customary for a midshipman to go afloat by introduction to a senior officer in the service. He was fitted out on shore and then shot on board without any preparation for his profession whatsoever, becoming proficient or not according to the trouble that his seniors took in teaching him his work. This was one of the reasons why men remained midshipmen for such an inordinately long time, and it certainly ensured that no man would stick to the

service unless he had a real liking for it. It was a very harsh school but it turned out fine seamen, although they were seamen who were often at a great disadvantage when pitted against more scientifically trained enemies from the Continent. The time which a man might spend as a midshipman was very indefinite, and he was liable to be turned ashore, or even to be derated and sent to serve before the mast as a seaman. Naturally, when this latter course was taken, it bred mischief-makers in the forecastle and was the cause of a lot of trouble.

The Lieutenants.

The time that a man spent in the midshipmen's mess before he was promoted to the gunroom—in those days there was no wardroom, and the gunroom, which now accommodates the midshipmen was used by their seniors—varied immensely according to the luck of the officer and his personal influence, and this held almost as much when a man was promoted lieutenant. Active service had a good deal to do with promotion, but a good, sound, slogging man might remain without command for many years, while influence jumped his juniors over his shoulders. Small wonder that there was a large body of elderly, embittered lieutenants in the service, who saw no prospect of advancement but who could not afford to retire.

The Petty Officers.

One of the great troubles of the Navy was the lack of opportunity for petty officers, for comparatively few contrived to reach higher rating without exceptional luck. Naturally, the handling of the sails and the management of a big ship's company rendered a large number of good petty officers absolutely necessary; but although they were granted certain privileges, they were liable to be thrown out of the service at the end of a war, just as were the seamen. One of their privileges was that they were not supposed to be flogged, but some old post-captains who believed in the lash above all things soon got over this. Their method was to call a petty officer down from aloft, disrate him on deck, have him triced up and flogged, and then immediately re-promote him petty officer and order him back to his station. The quartermasters were perhaps the most favoured as regards promotion, for they were very frequently chosen to be master's mates, and in any circumstances their position on the quarter-deck gave them a far better chance of coming under the notice of the officers than their fellows.

The Boatswain.

Of the warrant officers the boatswain is by far the most picturesque, although Marryat's novels incline one to take a very kindly interest in the carpenter. The boatswain was in charge of all cordage, and in addition had a good deal to do with the discipline of the ship. For this purpose he carried a rattan cane which he did not hesitate to use on the backs of his luckless subordinates, with or without excuse. One of the reasons that the 18th century seaman was continually on the verge of mutiny was that the warrant officers were given great power without being carefully selected for exercising it. The result was harsh

discipline which was apt to spoil the best of men, and when the ability of their seniors on the quarter-deck was not above reproach, things were apt to get into a very bad way on board. The boatswains, however, were almost invariably magnificent seamen, and many a midshipman received from the boatswain all the practical instruction that he was afforded on board ship, most of the officers being quite content that he should learn for himself somehow and be severely punished if he failed to do so.

The Purser.

In a modern man-of-war there is a good deal of quiet fun taken at the purser on account of his opportunities of getting rich, but in the 18th century these stories were believed in implicitly by the seamen, who saw in him the cause of all their troubles. He was generally far and away the best hated man in the ship, all the faults of the Admiralty or the victualling contractors being laid to his discredit, but although the men chosen for the purpose were certainly generally ill selected and the large majority of them took the opportunity of making all the money they could, in this they were only acting in imitation of their seniors, and there is no doubt that a very large part of the blame that they got was undeserved. Theirs was a thankless job at the best of times.

The Surgeons.

The surgeons who were sent to sea in the 18th century were certainly a very poor crowd. For one thing, they were far too few, and for another, they were very often hopelessly incompetent. Their status on board ship was of the poorest, and it would have been surprising if the Navy had contrived to get decent men for this important branch of the service. It was a good thing that the seaman was a hardy animal, otherwise he would certainly have died off even more quickly than he did, owing to the attentions of the men who were supposed to cure him. Once again it has to be pointed out that Smollett is prejudiced in the way he writes, but at the same time he went through what he describes, and it is a tolerably good picture of the naval surgeon of the time.

The Chaplain.

Taken in the main, the chaplain was rather better than the surgeon, although frequently he was very ill fitted for his office. Then, as now, he had no rank, and his pay was somewhat uncertain, being made up of a deduction from the seamen's pay. Sometimes he was treated as a lieutenant and sometimes as a warrant officer : it seems to have depended very much on the whim of the captain until his status was definitely laid down. There are records of many who could drink with the hardest-headed men in the ship, and also of many others who did their very utmost to make the life of the seaman bearable.

Manning the Fleet.

All sorts of ways and means were adopted for getting seamen into the fleet, according to the needs of the moment, but the stand-by of them all was the Press Gang, which had really started in the reign of King John. This is generally regarded as an 18th century institution

entirely, but as a matter of fact it had existed and been in active operation long before that, although that period was the one with which one generally associates it, on account of its activity. In 1696, copied very largely from the French, a registration of seamen was adopted, which offered them many and pretty considerable advantages on condition that they served in a sort of naval reserve. This scheme was an utter failure and soon had to be dropped. After that the manning of the fleet was kept up by the Press Gang, the sweepings of the gaols, and men who enlisted voluntarily on promise of a bounty or in response to advertisement.

Recruiting by Advertisement.

Alongside the Press Gang, but principally at the extreme end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, there was recruiting by advertisement. A captain, especially if he were well known in the district, would generally make a local tavern his headquarters and advertise for men. Some of these advertisements are distinctly amusing, and do not err on the side of modesty. Whether he got men by this means or not depended entirely upon his reputation, both for getting prizes, which was the point invariably emphasised in the bills, and also for his treatment of the seamen. Some captains had no difficulty in filling their list in a few days, while others did their best but invariably had finally to fall back on the Press Gang. Line-of-battle ships got very little prize-money and therefore were not as successful in recruiting by advertisement as were the frigates.

The Press Gang.

The name " Press Gang " is a corruption, for, from the earliest days, when the men who were taken in that way were described as " prest " seamen, this merely meant that they were ready for service, but later it came to mean that they were pressed into the Navy, and one name was certainly quite as appropriate as the other. All through history there have been occasions on which it has been necessary forcibly to impress men, but in the earlier days it was thought preferable to tempt them by high rates of pay. The Tudors made compulsion a regular feature in time of emergency, and the Stuarts followed them. As the need for seamen increased, and no opportunities were offered him to make good money otherwise, the press became more general, until the 18th century saw the greater part of the fleet manned in this way. In seaport towns a Press Gang was generally composed of seamen, but this was not by any means necessary, and inland it was almost invariably composed of landsmen. The only thing necessary was brawn. The great value of the Press Gang to the landsman was that, when he was discharged from it, he had the undertaking of the authorities that he would not be pressed as a seaman. The seaman who was employed in it had no such guarantee, but as a rule he had an undertaking that he would not be sent to the same ship as the men whom he had taken. Without this it is to be feared that he would have had a very bad time afloat. At one time there was a bonus of a shilling a head on the men pressed for the Navy, but this proved such a temptation to fill the Navy

with every sort of undesirable that it was soon abandoned, and the men returned to their regular pay. The regulating captain was in charge of each gang, although his rank in the Navy was generally a lieutenant. His pay was a pound a day, with various allowances, and he had as assistants two or three lieutenants and a number of midshipmen. Some of these midshipmen had never been afloat and were well on in middle age—in fact one man from Hull was acting in this capacity until he was over sixty. Needless to say, the loose organisation of the Press Gang gave rise to any number of abuses, as did also the method of getting information of likely men. It is to be feared that " divorce by Press Gang " was a very usual procedure in the 18th century. The gang was supposed to have a regular headquarters which was hired for the purpose, but very often this was either non-existent or insufficient, and in lieu the men were lodged in the local gaol. As gaol fever was very prevalent it meant that disease was carried to the ships to an appalling extent, while naturally the men who were being forced into the King's service, through no fault of their own, were greatly humiliated.

Resisting the Press Gang.

In the early days barbarous punishments were provided for men who attempted to evade naval service, but as time went on it was realised that a seaman who had been well and thoroughly hanged was of very little further use to the Navy, and therefore these punishments were gradually lightened. Finally they disappeared altogether, but at the same time the Press Gang was given infinitely more power to use force, with the result that, although a man could attempt to save himself without fear of the law, he would probably have such a bad hammering from the gang that the majority preferred to go quietly. It will be admitted, of course, that the methods of the gang were brutal, but at the same time it must be realised that the fleet had to be manned, and owing to bad management and bad victualling the service was extremely unpopular with seamen. Hence, while it appeared impossible to put things right at the root, impressment was unavoidable.

The Case of Nicholas Cooke.

It is very natural that an institution like the Press Gang, based as it was on usage and necessity without the least foundation on justice, gave plenty of opportunity for abuses. Most of these were vulgar and rather uninteresting cases of tyranny, but that of Nicholas Cooke in 1775 is raised above the average by its very audacity. This gentleman forged a warrant for himself, giving himself the rank of lieutenant to which he had not the least right, and then hired a small trading vessel, the *Providence,* to cruise round the Irish coast and press seamen. When he had got his ship full he made for Liverpool, with the intention of selling his victims to merchantmen at a good stiff sum in blood money. However, he contrived to pile the ship up just inside the Mersey and H.M.S. *Seahorse* attempted to render assistance. As soon as her captain reached the wreck he was astounded to find her crowded with seventy-three Irishmen, whom he immediately pressed into the Navy and, investigating further he found that in addition to his ingenious

GREENWICH HOSPITAL, c. 1745
(From a Contemporary Engraving)

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Greenwich Hospital was doing splendid work for the seaman, although there were many abuses, and it was constantly complained that money collected was not spent.
(From a Print lent by Messrs. T H. Parker)

(Macpherson Collection)

WRECK OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIAMAN "WOESTDUYN," 1779
(From an Engraving Published in 1780)

(Macpherson Collection)

THE LOSS OF H.M.S. "ANDROMEDA" IN A HURRICANE ON OCTOBER 11, 1780
(MEZZOTINT BY AND AFTER LIEUT. WM. ELLIOTT, PUBLISHED 1785)

The Andromeda *was a 28-gun sloop, built in* 1777. *She was lost in the most disastrous hurricane known in the history of the West Indies, when no fewer than thirteen British men-of-war came to grief. She went down off the coast of Martinique with practically her whole crew.*

(Macpherson Collection)

THE ADMIRALTY, WHITEHALL.
(Engraving by D. Cunego, 1775)

The screen of the Admiralty exists to-day in practically the same form as it did in 1760, *except that the niches are now vacant.*

kidnapping schemes Cooke was smuggling in a quantity of contraband spirits, and it was for this and not for the forged warrant that he was prosecuted and convicted.

Impressing Foreign Seamen.

When Peter the Great was forming the Russian Navy his great difficulty was to get men for it. The Russian serfs were indifferent seamen and although he could persuade plenty of retired and half-pay officers from the British Navy to take service with him it was a different matter with petty officers and men. Therefore he instituted a Press Gang and visiting the British ships in Russian ports he took one man out of nine. There was great indignation at this and a strongly worded protest was sent across, but the Czar's answer was merely that he was following British custom and that every prince had the right to take what he liked out of his own haven. Unfortunately there was no answer to this argument, for on many occasions British ships had been manned by seamen pressed out of foreign visitors, and as lately as the reign of Queen Anne it had been made quite a general custom.

Women on Shipboard.

Besides the numerous women who contrived to smuggle themselves on to His Majesty's ships in men's clothes, and their number is surprisingly high, the old time ships carried quite a number of women on board. For coastwise voyages the regulations were very slack, and even for long voyages the petty officers carried their wives as often as not. Incidentally, some of these petty officers' wives did magnificent work attending to the wounded in action, and some of them bore themselves right gallantly in a boarding fight. Apart from these, however, as soon as a ship anchored in a home port, a host of harpies crowded on board and the scenes below deck were indescribable. If the men were allowed ashore they would certainly desert, most of them having come into the service most unwillingly, so that the Admiralty condoned this state of affairs, which was really a disgrace to the service. Later in the 18th century, however, matters improved, and in 1778 orders had been given to many ships that if any shore boat with a woman in it were seen coming too close to a man-of-war, she was immediately to send off a boat, press the boatman into the fleet, and turn the woman ashore. In the middle of the 19th century, to get ahead of our story, the regulations had become so rigorous that captains were strictly forbidden to carry their wives when proceeding to foreign stations. The regulations omitted to forbid them to carry one another's, so all was peace.

Desertion.

While the punishment for resisting the Press Gang was reviewed, there was no inclination to do anything that might encourage desertion once the men were caught and trained, and the punishments were still very severe. On the other hand, it must be admitted that desertion went on just the same, and no measures were effective in preventing it. The distribution of pay and prize-money was deferred in order to persuade men to stay in the service, but soon the need of trained seamen

became so great that there were many occasions on which a man was offered the pay that he had actually forfeited, on condition that he returned to the service. Thus he was in the curious position of being forced to desert and forfeit his pay in order to get it; but there was always the chance of his being caught by the Press Gang first, and this very often occurred as seamen notoriously stick to their old haunts. If this happened and he were taken on shipboard, he would forfeit all chance of getting this pay or any advantage. George I prescribed death by hanging as the punishment for desertion, but seamen soon became too scarce to be wasted in this manner, and therefore the punishment became a flogging. It might be 700 lashes. On the other hand, the punishment for enticing seamen to desert was very severe. First of all it was death, and later imprisonment or transportation, but where the enticer was a crimp who was trying to get men for the merchant service—often enough only to have them pressed back into the Navy—it was usually left to the Navy men to inflict the appropriate punishment, which they did with all goodwill. Many a noted crimp was pressed into the Navy and had a particularly bad time of it. In addition, the keenness of the Press Gang was whetted by the fact that they were given a bounty of twenty shillings for every deserter apprehended and sent back to his ship.

The Seaman's Pay.

There was certainly little enough in the matter of pay to attract the seaman and keep him in the service. The rates were laid down by the law, but in order to prevent men deserting during a commission, it was usual to defer their pay until the ship paid off, with the result that sometimes men were as much as five and six years without pay. What happened to the wives and families of pressed seamen during this period may be left to the imagination. Prize-money was nearly as bad, and as this was the only real allurement that the Navy could hold out, for it promised adventure as well as gain, its being withheld caused grave discontent in the fleet, and was one of the principal reasons of mutiny. In 1774 prize-money was fixed at the value of all property in prizes taken by ships, to be divided among the officers and crews of the captors, and it was also provided that if a share was not claimed within three years, Greenwich Hospital should have it. The division of prize-money, however, caused a lot of trouble with the men, and this is not surprising when one hears that at the capture of Havana in 1762 the admiral in command and the general who led the land troops received nearly £123,000 each, while a post captain got £1,600, a petty officer £17 5s. 3d., and an able seaman or private of marines only £3 14s. 9¼d. In addition to low pay and the difficulty of getting it, there was the "sixpenny office," which was always regarded by the seaman as a gross breach of all justice. For many years 6d. per pound per month was deducted from the wages of all seamen, and was supposed to support Greenwich Hospital, in addition to the unclaimed shares of prize-money that have already been mentioned. The complaint of the men was firstly that they got very little benefit from Greenwich Hospital; and

secondly, that infinitely more sixpences were deducted from the pay than were handed over to the hospital fund, both of which contentions had a good deal of truth in them. The seaman also complained bitterly of his victualling, and certainly, although the scale looked very much better on paper than had been attained in the seventeenth century, it left a good deal to be desired when it had to be eaten. The beef was so poor that it shrunk to a half in cooking, and then was almost uneatable, while the pork was generally rancid. To show what provisions were provided for the seaman, it may be mentioned that the authorities laid down a procedure for sweetening a ship after she had been fouled by putrid rations. Yet they would not hear of any complaints, and constantly maintained that the seaman had all that he could possibly desire.

Widows' Men.

On the books of practically every warship in commission were borne a number of " widows' men," which term needs a certain amount of explanation. As a matter of fact, they did not exist, but certain names were enrolled in the ship's pay-books and the pay and prize-money that would have accrued to them went to the upkeep of Greenwich Hospital. Considering its various sources of revenue, it must be admitted that this hospital really should have done very much more for the distressed seaman than it ever attempted to do.

The Seaman's Drink.

From very early times it was customary to ship beer in His Majesty's vessels of war as drink for the seamen, this being the only drink to which they were accustomed and the only one to which they took kindly. The trouble was that the beer was not as a rule good to begin with, and that when it had been well shaken up in the hold of a ship it soon became so sour that it was not only undrinkable but that it had to be poured over the side in order to keep the ship herself sweet. Also, of course, the difficulties of stowage, when all stores were cut down to their lowest possible level, were very great and so it came about that ships on foreign stations would replenish their supplies of alcohol with the local wines. Then it came into fashion to ship rum instead of beer, a much more sensible proceeding in view of its smaller bulk and its infinitely better keeping qualities. The seamen liked it better too, but at the outset it was served out with a far too generous hand and the result of a strong tot just before the ship was snugged down for the night was almost inevitably a big list of casualties. It was Admiral Vernon, who in bad weather wore a famous coat made of green grogram, who first had the common-sense idea of watering down the rum and it has been known as " grog " ever since. To begin with this was in no way intended as a term of endearment or appreciation of the Admiral's forethought. It was at the same time that stoppage of grog for minor offences became general in the Navy, and not unnaturally the Admiral got blamed for this as well.

Discipline in the Fleet.

Thus we have the whole vicious circle. Men were pressed into an unpopular service against their will. They were badly fed and badly paid, and in consequence were chronically discontented. As a cure for this, the most barbarous discipline was inflicted, and this only made things worse. In many ships flogging was an almost daily occurrence, the offender being triced up to the gangway jears and flogged with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the boatswain's mate. This punishment was supposed to be awarded in one dozen or multiples of a dozen, but as a matter of fact it sometimes ran into thousands. Frequently all the men on a sail would be flogged for slackness in taking it in, while very often a genuine case of illness was flogged first before he was passed over to the surgeon. The lash was awarded for laughing and for every conceivable offence, no matter how slight. It was a point of honour to bear the flogging without flinching, but as a matter of fact many a man died under it, and the pain of the waxed cord must have been excruciating. In addition, the warrant officers and officers carried their rattan canes and laid about on the backs of the unfortunate seamen for any or no offence. But in the end it must be admitted that the average 18th century seaman was difficult to control by any other means, once he was aboard, although whether the means might not have been easier had the service been less corrupt at the top, is a matter that might well be argued. Nelson and one or two others contrived to do with a minimum of lash, but the average officer found it absolutely indispensable for keeping his ship going.

The Mutiny of the " Chesterfield."

It would be impossible to enumerate all the mutinies that besmirched the naval records of the 18th century, and it is only possible to take one of the worst. The case of the *Chesterfield* will suffice. The *Chesterfield* was a 44-gun ship that was sent to the West Coast of Africa in 1748. She was commanded by Captain O'Brien Dudley, a bluster-ing bully who appears to have had few good qualities. He was sent to inspect the defences on the coast, but he preferred to live in something like Eastern state on shore, with the result that the First Lieutenant Couchman and the carpenter's mate, John Place, together with Lieutenant Morgan of the Marines, fell a-plotting. Most of the officers and lower deck men were given leave to go ashore, where the captain was already established with a large part of the wardroom, and the mutineers, about forty in number, had not the least difficulty in seizing the ship and putting to sea. Couchman does not appear even to have had the spirit to be a decent pirate, for the gunner and a midshipman, with a few honest hands that they found among the crew, opposed the mutineers and regained possession of the ship. In parenthesis it may be mentioned that even the loyal men had not the least intention of going back to their captain, and accordingly sailed the ship to Barbados, where they handed her across to the proper authorities. Place was hanged and the two mutinous officers were shot.

(Macpherson Collection)

THE WRECK OF H.M.S. "CENTAUR," 74 GUNS, IN A VIOLENT STORM ON HER PASSAGE FROM JAMAICA, IN SEPTEMBER, 1782, CAPTAIN J. N. INGLEFIELD AND ELEVEN OTHER OFFICERS AND MEN BEING MIRACULOUSLY SAVED IN THE SHIP'S PINNACE.

(From an Engraving by Gaugain, after J. Northcote, R.A.)

(*The* Centaur *took a prominent part in Rodney's action against the French under de Grasse, off St. Lucia,* 1782.

(Macpherson Collection)

JONAS HANWAY, 1712-1786, ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE MARINE SOCIETY

(Mezzotint by R. Dunkarton, after Edwards, 1780)

Still doing magnificent work in the training of youngsters for the sea, the Marine Society in its early days was of the greatest help to the seaman.

VOLUNTEERS

FOR THE

Royal Navy,

To be raiſed by the EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

The Largeſt BOUNTY ever given CONTINUED

TO ALL

Able Seamen, Ordinary Seamen, and Able-bodied Landmen,

Who are willing to enter as VOLUNTEERS to ſerve in

HIS MAJESTY's FLEETS.

NOW IS THE TIME

For all Brave Fellows to come forward, and ſerve their King and their Country, and for their particular Encouragement they will be entitled to the following BOUNTIES, viz.

Every Able Seaman, including the King's Bounty	£31 : 5s.
Every Ordinary Seaman, including the King's Bounty	23 : 10s.
Every Able-bodied Landman, including the King's Bounty	17 : 5s.

READY MONEY,

One-Third of which will be paid immediately on the Volunteer being regulated, and the Remainder within Four Days after the Firſt Muſter, and poſitively before the Departure of the Ship for which he is entered.

Beſides which the *Marine-Society* will provide the Landmen with CLOTHING.

Repair, my Gallant Hearts of Oak, without LOSS of TIME, to

Lieutenant Donadieu,

At the Nag's-head, Poſtern-row, or King's-arms, Tower-hill,

The PRINCIPAL PLACES of Rendezvous of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY;

Or to the Rendezvous of either of the Officers appointed to raiſe Men for His Majeſty's Navy in London.

N. B. All thoſe who may come forward to enter, will be protected to the Place of Rendezvous, and from thence on Board the reſpective Veſſels they may be appointed to; where, after paſſing Muſter, and being Rated, they will be entitled to the Bounty, without any Deduction whatever.

GOD SAVE the KING! And Succeſs to the NAVY of Great-Britain.

(Macpherson Collection)

ADVERTISEMENT FOR RECRUITS FOR THE NAVY

Constant efforts were being made to get seamen without the help of the Press Gang. In this particular case, the East India Company is co-operating, presumably to protect its ships from the Press.

MANNING THE NAVY.
(Etching by Barlow, after Collings)

(Macpherson Collection)

THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT.
(By Gillray, Published 1779)

Although apparently necessary to the manning of the Navy, the Press Gang was loathed and dreaded by the public.

"JACK OAKHAM THROWING OUT A SIGNAL FOR AN ENGAGEMENT."

"THE SAILOR'S RETURN."

The popular prints of the period (i.e., the last quarter of the eighteenth century) always show the seamen returned with plenty of prize money.

The "Milford."

At the same time it must not be thought that all the mutinies that were reported during the 18th century were all on the surface. Sir George Rooke in his diary for 1701 has an entry which is an illuminating side light on the conditions of the time. He writes: "This morning received information that Captain Moses of the *Milford* had been attempted to be assassinated and was shot in the leg. Upon which ordered Sir John Munden to go on board that ship with the Judge Advocate, Captain Gifford, and Captain Leake to enquire thereinto, which they having done by the best examination they could make, found upon the oaths of the officers and the circumstances, that he was shot by himself, and as supposed was done on purpose to strengthen his case against Mr. Stucley, his lieutenant, and Mr. Brookes, his midshipman, whom he had confined for above six months. Held a court martial on Mr. Stucley and Mr. Brookes of the *Milford* for mutiny; they were both acquitted, the Captain's accusation appearing frivolous and vexatious." This is one of the few instances of this sort of thing that have got into the history books; how many more passed by unnoticed except by their unhappy victims can only be estimated. Captain William Moses was certainly not a naval officer of the type of which the service can be proud, but it is impossible to pretend that he was an isolated instance, and in the 18th century all too many of his messmates were of the very worst type, who should never have been given His Majesty's commission. Smollett's picture of the Navy is naturally suspect because he was a notorious malcontent, but at the same time it contains much that must be accepted as true, especially when supported by such practical men as Marryat, who had no axe to grind.

Scurvy.

Another ingredient in the seaman's wretchedness in the 18th century was the prevalence of scurvy, for it is difficult to imagine a more depressing ailment, and its ravages were frightful. It was not until Captain Cook proved the value of lime-juice as a preventive that it was generally taken up, although one or two captains had made experiments before that. Sauerkraut also was frequently supplied for the same purpose. After Cook's demonstration the general issue of lime-juice was ordered, and while Mediterranean limes were used it was entirely successful. Later, motives of Imperial policy caused West Indian limes to be bought instead, but these had not the same qualities, and the fact that there was far less scurvy in the fleet while they were being taken merely proves that the treatment of the men was gradually improving, and that they were not so liable to attack. In these days of the greatest care of the seaman's health it is almost impossible to imagine the ravages of the disease on board ship in the 18th century.

Paying Off and Turning Over.

Considering how short the Navy invariably was of seamen, it is remarkable that nobody ever tried to put a long service system into effect until the middle of the 19th century. Sometimes a ship that was ending her commission would keep her crew intact and turn it over

entire to a new ship that was commissioning; more often the men were simply turned out into the world to fend for themselves until they were pressed back into the service. As they took with them their accumulated pay, it was generally not long before they had squandered it and were caught again, but the waste to the service and the bad blood engendered was as appalling as it was unnecessary. As an economic measure it was a hopeless failure, and was bad from every point of view, Nelson describing it as " the infernal system." If a man were seriously ill he was simply left to look after himself, the country washing its hands of him after he had been treated at public expense for thirty days. Frequently men discharged to shore in this manner carried infectious diseases into the various towns, and they certainly were not popular. Occasionally a man with a serious wound would be admitted into Greenwich Hospital, or even be granted a small pension to keep him outside, but these lucky ones were a small proportion of the men who were discharged sick. In the middle of the 18th century the Marine Society, which does such splendid work training lads for the sea nowadays, did its best for the discharged men, but it was little enough they could do.

The Crews of the East Indiamen.

The pick of the merchant seamen were undoubtedly those who manned the East Indiamen, for every effort was made to keep them British, while the majority of the remainder of the mercantile marine was manned almost entirely by foreigners. That was the principal reason why East Indiamen made such a tempting bait for the Press Gang, in spite of all the efforts of the Court of Directors to obtain the privileges that had been granted them. The pay of the John Company's seamen in the early days of the eighteenth century is rather interesting. The captain received £7 a month, but of course the perquisites were so great that he had every chance of making a fortune. The first mate got 10s. less, the surgeon £3 10s., with as much as he could make out of his patients among the passengers, while the warrant and petty officers received from £2 15s. to £3 5s. An able seaman got £1 15s., while the senior trumpeter got £3 10s., although what use he was in the running of the ship it is difficult to see. By the standards of the day the allowances for the dependents of seamen who lost their lives in the defence of the ship were generous, while if a man were wounded he would be nursed back to health at the expense of the company, an example which might well have been copied by the Royal Navy. Unfortunately, so many seamen either deserted or died during or at the end of the outward voyage that the homeward passage was very often made with a very sparse company. Deserters from the East India Company's army mostly tried to get home by the ship, and naturally it was made a very serious offence for the captain to sign on such a man. Otherwise, he had to fall back on Lascars, but the Navigation Acts prevented their being employed as seamen on the outward voyages, and they had to be kept in the port until they could be taken back to India as passengers. The Indian coasting trade employed many ships manned entirely by Lascars, with white officers.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONTINENTAL EMPIRES, THEIR TRADE AND SHIPPING.

The 18th Century.

The 18th century seems to be principally known for the expansion of the British Empire, but it was an age of imperialism throughout the world, and although the British Empire expanded more than any other, partly by new discovery and partly by taking territory from her neighbours, the whole world was consolidating into its various empires. By the end of the century, when the revolutionary wars were breaking out, this process had been practically completed, only to begin all over again.

The Spanish Empire.

The might of Spain, which at one time seemed likely to rule the world, was already on the decline, but there was still a vast empire left to her. A large part of the West Indian Islands, Mexico and Florida, the greater part of the east coast of South America, including the rich settlements on the River Plate, Peru on the west, and the Philippine Islands in the Pacific, were the principal Spanish colonies, and from these the empire continued to draw the greater part of its wealth.

Spanish Commercial Policy.

Spain has never been a nation of traders in the best sense of the word, and immediately she began to build up an empire she put so many restrictions on its trade that its development was hopelessly hampered. Restrictions were imposed not only against foreign countries—which after all was only the general policy of the time—but also on inter-state trade between the various South American colonies, with the result that very soon Spanish shipping declined and all the trade was carried in Dutch or English vessels which flew the Spanish flag but which made no pretence as to their nationality. Under the Treaty of Utrecht one 500-ton ship a year was allowed to Porto Bello, but the English were not slow to see a loophole in this treaty and this one ship was always replenished by others, until it had landed literally scores of cargoes. In 1702, on the death of King Charles II of Spain, the restrictions had become so onerous to trade that England, Holland and the Empire made an alliance for the purpose of stripping Spain of her colonies, but it came to nothing. The contraband trade went on, and it was the Spaniards' action in searching British ships in American waters that led to the War of Jenkins's Ear (see page 18). Until 1778 Seville and Cadiz had the monopoly of commerce with the American colonies, and in the West Indies Vera Cruz and Porto Bello had the monopoly of trade with Spain. This naturally caused great discontent in other provinces, and in 1778 practically all the important harbours on either side of the continent were thrown open. So strict were the regulations that the Governor of Juan Fernandez in 1788 was relieved of his position for allowing the American ship *Columbia* to put into his port by stress of weather. Foreign aggression, from the Portuguese as well as from the English, caused trade to be further handicapped by the Spanish policy of choosing their ports purely from the point of view of defensibility.

Spanish Communications.

For some centuries the principal communications between Spain and her colonies were maintained by the treasure galleons which made such a tempting bait for the British corsairs, but in 1764 a line of packets with monthly sailings was started between Corunna and Havana. Practically all the other parts of the Empire were very ill supplied with communications, with the result that interlopers soon found their way in and, once there, they were seldom content with the more legitimate forms of profit. Spain's efforts to maintain her monopoly were almost heartbreaking, but at the same time one must admit that it was very largely through her policy of not paying her public servants that the contraband trade attained the proportions that it did.

Portuguese Seclusion.

In an earlier chapter it has been shown how the Portuguese closed their empire to all visitors, and this policy was continued as long as it was possible. This attitude was encouraged by the church, and the French and Portuguese priests were constantly fighting for the supremacy, which frequently interfered with their religious duties. In the case of England, however, the Portuguese seclusion was apt to be broken, for after the Spaniards had conquered their country its trade could only recover with British aid. So it came about that the Portuguese Government was forced to give to British traders far better commercial privileges than it gave to their own people. English goods were very necessary to Portugal, but theirs were only a convenience to the British, with the exception of Brazilian cotton. However, the Portuguese had the most favoured nation clause in their agreements with England, and goods from Asia and elsewhere were allowed into the country. It must be confessed, however, that this was always something of a failure, and in 1784 the Calcutta authorities declared that the Portuguese sailors were a nuisance ; accordingly they were forbidden to be in the city after five o'clock at night or before seven in the morning. Orders such as this caused a good deal of heart-burning, but the majority of them were far less stringent than those that had been imposed by the Portuguese themselves in earlier days.

Danish Shipping.

Compared with her big neighbours, the empire of Denmark was negligible, but her men were seamen from the dawn of history, and they were not long in building up a big overseas merchant service. In the earliest days of the 18th century Denmark was practically a neutral in Europe, so that the island of St. Thomas had its harbours full of French, English, Spanish and Dutch ships, picking up quite a good trade which they could not do in their own islands. The Dutch were predominant in this, and had made themselves masters of the greater part of the trade until the Danish traders, naturally jealous, formed a big secret association which included many foreigners. They bought ships in Amsterdam and sent them out to their own island of St. Thomas under the Dutch flag. The Danes already had an organisation in their

(Macpherson Collection)

PETER THE GREAT
(Engraving by Vendramini, after C. de Moor)

The Czar Peter the Great was really the founder of the modern Russian Navy, and had the power, rare in Russians, of sinking his rank in order to get a thorough knowledge of the job he had on hand.

John Elphinstone Esq.r
CAPTAIN in His Majesty's Navy and Rear Admiral in the SERVICE of RUSSIA
At the Destruction of the TURKISH FLEET in the Mediterranean

(Macpherson Collection)

CAPTAIN JOHN ELPHINSTONE, 1725-1785.
(From a Contemporary Mezzotint Engraving.)

After a distinguished career in the British Navy, including the difficult task of piloting the British Fleet into Havana, Elphinstone took service as Rear-Admiral in the Russian Fleet, but at the end of the war with Turkey returned to the British Navy.

SIR SAMUEL GREIG
Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Imperial Majesties Fleets in the Baltic
Commander in Chief of Cronstadt
Knight of the Imperial Russian Orders
of St Andrey St Alexander Newsky,
St George the 1st class St Vladimer the 1st class
AND of the HOLSTEIN ORDER of ST ANNE.
Her Imperial Majesty CATHERINE the SECOND Empress and Autocratrix of all the Russias
This Plate is most Humbly inscribed by her much Obliged and very Humble Servant
James Walker Esq to her I. M.

(Macpherson Collection)

SIR SAMUEL GREIG, 1735-1788.
(Mezzotint by J. Walker, after Levitsky, 1788.)

Another distinguished British officer in the Russian service, who went into the Royal Navy from the Merchant Service. He was only a master's mate in the Royal Navy when he was commissioned as a lieutenant in Russia, but rapidly rose in their service, and died in blockading Sveaborg.

ENGAGEMENT IN CHESEME BAY BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND TURKS, JULY, 1770.

Cheseme, or Tchesme, marked one of the greatest successes in Russian arms against the Turks, when the Turkish Fleet was completely destroyed.

(From a Print lent by Messrs. T H. Parker)

West India and Guinea Company, and finally this was so strengthened by the new association that the Dutch were excluded altogether. In 1775 this company was taken over by the Danish Crown, owing to the interest of King Frederik V, but by this time it was quite firmly established.

The Danes in the East.

Meanwhile the Danes were working themselves into a strong position in the East, for they made few enemies and on many occasions were admitted where other shipping powers were rigidly excluded. Danish claret was sold in Calcutta under the protection of the East India Company, and many passengers travelled home under the Danish flag rather than in East Indiamen. While Denmark was neutral, this was a very useful alternative to running the risk of French privateers, and one cannot help being struck by the large number of Danes who called in at St. Helena for provisions and water while it was in the possession of the East India Company.

The Young Peter the Great.

The man who was afterwards to mould the Russian Empire gave very little promise of greatness as a youngster, for he meekly submitted to the regency of his half-sister and did not appear to have any interests beyond a certain amount of study of Western methods and nightly orgies which surprised even the Russians. The story of the beginning of his interest in the sea is worth noting. In 1688 he visited a kinsman near Moscow, and in an old shed discovered what was left of an old boat that was reputed to have been sent by Queen Elizabeth as a present to the Czar Ivan the Terrible. A Dutch shipwright made her seaworthy and immediately the young Czar was delighted at the way she handled compared with the clumsy flat-bottomed craft to which he was accustomed. Three or four others were built after her pattern, but it was then some years before political events permitted him to enjoy his hobby of boat sailing again as he desired.

The Construction of the Russian Navy.

When affairs were settled he began to think seriously of building up his Navy. By 1692, when he was only in his twentieth year, he had built quite a flotilla of small vessels with the assistance of the Dutch. In the following year he went up to Archangel and built a sizeable man-of-war there, going to sea in her himself in bad weather and learning all that it was then possible for a monarch to learn of sea-going conditions. He immediately dreamed of making Russia a naval power, the more so as he saw that by this means he could take full advantage of the weakness of Sweden, and his intentions were confirmed by his experiences in the campaign against the Tartars and Turks in 1695. Before the winter was over he had a fleet of galleys in the Sea of Azof and in this he was content to serve as the commodore in charge of the van. The operations of this flotilla made a big difference to the campaign and having conquered the Sea of Azof he immediately dreamed of the supremacy of the Black Sea, a dream that he had to abandon for the time in face of

very sharp reverses. He then determined on his famous tour of investigation, a tour which took him to Holland, Germany, England, France and Austria, and which was interrupted when he was on the way to Venice to study the construction of galleys by the news that part of his army was in revolt. He hurried back and although the worst of the trouble had been overcome before he arrived the manner in which he stamped out the embers showed the Russians the type of man they had to deal with in the Czar.

The Russo-Swedish War.

Peter the Great from boyhood had dreamed of leading a crusade against the Infidel, combining his religious enthusiasm with a desire for the greater part of the Sultan's territory on the Black Sea, but he soon found that this was not practicable. Things were very much more promising in the Baltic, where the Swedes were exhausted from the wars of Gustavus Adolphus and the kings who followed him. The Poles and Danes were quite willing to help him in his desire to take a large part of Sweden's territory, naturally at a price, and he quite saw his way to use them, although whether it was their way was another matter. Accordingly Peter engaged a number of Dutch and British officers and trained seamen, and also a number of master shipwrights whose first efforts were to build a big fleet on the Volga. This proved a mistake in many ways and the greater number of the ships could not reach Lake Ladoga, on which they were designed to concentrate. Another attempt was made in a more convenient situation, and this fleet was the one that in 1703 took the port of Nyenskans from the Swedes. Reckoning that the Czar had no sea forces, the relieving Swedish squadron took no special precautions and suffered accordingly. They had put up a gallant defence, however, and Peter immediately set about persuading their leader Charles Van Werden to enter his service and eventually promoted him to be one of the principal officers in the Russian Navy. With this encouragement he prepared for bigger things, and in 1705 quite a number of small frigates, mounting between twenty and thirty guns apiece, were built on the Neva. The war with Sweden dragged on and the great victory of Poltava gave the Czar a decided advantage, but it also gave him such an idea of his own prowess that he was easily outgeneralled by the Turks on the Pruth and was compelled to sign a humiliating peace with the Sultan by which he abandoned all pretensions to naval power on the Sea of Azof. From frigates he worked to small line-of-battle ships until he had collected a very formidable fleet, for although manned very largely by foreigners his ships could not be lightly regarded on that account.

Hangö Head, 1714.

Numerous actions with the Swedes took place about this time, but the great naval action of the war was Hangö Head. The Russian Fleet was at Reval when news came that the Swedes had been seen at Hangö, their force consisting of sixteen men-of-war with frigates and small craft. The Czar reconnoitred the position in person and laid his plans so well that a feint of carting his galleys over a neck of land persuaded the

Swedes to divide their force. He fell upon the main body and inflicted a crushing defeat. The action was principally an affair of galleys, but it was stubbornly contested and to Peter's credit it must be said that he took every care of the defeated leader and when he was released commended him to his Swedish master. A tradition of the time said that the Czar led the boarders in person, but this has been absolutely disproved. Numerous actions took place before the conclusion of peace in 1721, by which Peter realised his cherished aim of an outlet on the Baltic, this being really the starting point of modern Russia.

Swedish Shipping.

Nowadays the most important part of the Swedish merchant service is the carrying trade, and this was of importance right through the 18th century. During the first half the Swedes passed a law, modelled very much on the same lines as our own Navigation Acts of Cromwell's day, prohibiting foreign ships from entering Swedish ports with the goods of any other country than their own. One of the greatest figures in Swedish shipping at this time was Jonas Alstroner. He had his earliest experience in business as clerk to a Swedish merchant in London, but unfortunately his master failed, and about 1710 he had to start business on his own account as a shipbroker. It is rather curious to note what little difference there is in the root principles of his business in the 18th century and shipbroking as it is carried on to-day. At first he practised in various ports on the Continent, but in 1724, having by then prospered considerably, he determined to conduct his business from his own country, and accordingly he established himself in his native village. His interests stretched in various directions—wool, sugar, potatoes, dye works, tanning, steel and shipbuilding—but he always contrived to keep an eye on the foreign trade and to encourage Swedish shipping wherever it was possible. He was ennobled in 1750, and died in 1761, having left a mark on Swedish shipping that is still honourably acknowledged.

The Decline of the Dutch.

It will be remembered that in the middle of the 17th century Dutch shipping was more important than any other in the world, but their decline in the 18th was tragically rapid. At the beginning of the century their methods were far and away the finest in the world. Their shipping was completely registered and very thoroughly organised, while standardisation in shipbuilding was practised by them long before anybody else thought of it. It was principally in fishing craft, it must be admitted, but traders also were built to stock design with remarkable speed. As far as mechanical appliances and labour-saving machinery were concerned, they were far ahead of any competitor. The real ruin of shipping came with the Dutch determination to stick to free trade, on which they had built their prosperity, not even conceding any form of reciprocal duty against the goods of those who taxed theirs. It was first felt in the fishing industry, where the number of craft employed dropped from some thousands at the beginning of the century to only 160 in 1765. The whaling industry, which the Dutch had done so much

to develop, was killed, while the numerous shipyards at Zaandam, which had been the finest shipbuilding centre in the world, collapsed one after the other. In the north Hamburg was squeezing Holland out of the carrying trade, and in the south Spain and Portugal came to a secret agreement in 1754 with the idea of ruining the Dutch without resorting to open war. It was impossible to keep a people of the energy of the Dutch out of trade, however, and although they could not engage in shipping, they turned to finance, and, taking their capital abroad, became the principal financiers of Europe.

French Trade.

The establishment of French overseas commerce had been one of Richelieu's first and fondest dreams, but he soon learned that his original system of granting monopolies to companies trading in home waters was hopeless. They took advantage of these monopolies in such a way that they soon became a danger to the State, and their privileges had to be revoked. He then framed a Navigation Act on very similar lines to the British, but Parliament revoked it before it could have any effect. Meanwhile, the French India Company had made considerable progress, and there was a big French trade in the Levant, so that he realised that he would have to build afresh from the foundations, and it was this building that first produced results in the 18th century. Whether it would have done so had not his successor, Colbert, elaborated his scheme, is an open question. By the end of the 17th century the trade of France was really established, Dunkirk specialising in trade with the north, Le Havre and La Rochelle with America, Nantes with Africa, Bordeaux with Spain, and Marseilles with the Levant, while St. Malo and numerous other towns busied themselves with fishing and fitting out privateers against the British whenever possible.

The Effects of a Disaster.

The French efforts to remedy the reverses of the Treaty of Utrecht by Law's financial schemes set back French commerce many years, but in the end they aided it, for a wave of emigration set in, and for the first time since Colbert's day proper attention was paid to the colonies. As the colonies developed, so did French trade, but it is highly doubtful whether it would ever have done so had it not been for the Government's unfortunate dabbling in high finance.

END OF VOL. II.

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